

D64-1



6435

D.64-1





THE

HISTORY

OF

ITALY,

Translated from the ITALIAN of FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Efq;
The THIRD EDITION.

V O L. VIII.



LONDON,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the Lamb, in Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCLXIII.

H H T

TROTEIM

MI BANK

Trainfed mondard TALLANGE FREEDING.

PAUSTIN PARRICODDARIAMINAL TO A COLUMN TENDERO TO O COLUMN TENDERO TO COLUMN TENDERO TO O COLUMN TENDERO T

Y VO OLIL VEWILL



и о и и о и

Paparistant Tromperation Level in Copulation Assess

Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

THE CONTENTS.

Pope Adrian arrives at Rome. Enters into a Confederacy with the Emperor and Venetians against France. Island of Rhodes taken by Solyman Sultan of the Turks. Death of Pope Adrian, and Election of Clement VII. Duke of Bourbon deserts from the King of France, and enters into the Service of the Emperor. King of France sends an Army into Italy, and makes a League with Pope Clement. Imperialists invade France, over-run Provence, and befrance, over-run Provence, and besiege

fiege Marseilles, but are forced to abandon that Enterprise, and retreat. King of France follows them into Italy, takes the City of Milan, and besieges Pavia. Emperor's Army advances to relieve the Place, a Battle ensues, in which the French are defeated, many of the Nobles killed, and the King himself taken Prisoner.

A. D. 参加式 HOUGH the late Victory over The the French had composed the 1522. Affairs of Lombardy, it had not however lessened the Jealousy that the King of France, having his Kingdom entire, and at Peace, and the Generals and Italy un-Men at Arms that he had fent into Italy der Fear of a new returned in Safety, would, before it was French Inlong, make a fresh Attack on the Dutchy vafion. of Milan, especially considering that the Swiss were as ready as before to enter into his Pay, and the Venetian Senate perfevered in their antient Confederacy with him. The Confideration of this Danger engaged the Cæsarean Generals to maintain and keep in Pay the Army, which was very difficult for them to do, because

:6840

cause they received no Money from Ca- A. D. far nor from the Kingdom of Naples, and the State of Milan was fo far exhausted as to be insufficient of itself alone to quarter fuch Numbers of Soldiers, and support such great Expences. Wherefore, without paying any Regard to the Cries of the People, or the Remonstrances of the College of Cardinals, they had fent the greater Part of the Troops to take up their Quarters in the ecclefiastic State: And Don Carlo di Lanoja, newly appointed Viceroy of Naples in room of Raimondo di Cardona deceased, in his Passage through Rome, settled, in a Conference with Don Giovanni Manuel, the Contributions, determining that for the Three next Months the State of Milan should pay every Month Twenty Thousand Ducats, the Florentines Fifteen Thousand, the Genoese Eight Thousand, Siena Five Thousand, and Lucca Four Thousand. Though every Body exclaimed against this Tax, yet such was their Dread of the victorious Army that they were under a Necessity of submitting to it. The Impolers A 3

pensassiving them that it was indifpensassy pensassy necessary, because on the Preservation of those Forces depended the
Defence of Italy; and, at the End of
the Term the Imposition was renewed,
but in much easier Sums.

In this melancholy Situation of Affairs in Italy oppressed with a Train of Evils, and under Apprehensions of greater to come, the Arrival of the Pope was impatiently expected as a feafonable Help, by Means of the pontifical Authority, for composing a Multitude of Differences and providing against manifold Disorders: The Pontiff was earnestly intreated by Casar, who was at that Time on his Voyage by Sea to Spain, and had by the Way a Conference with the King of England, to wait for him at Barcelona, whither he would come in Person and acknowledge and adore him for Pope. But he refused to wait his Coming, either on account of the Distance of Cæsar, who was as yet in the farthermost Parts of Spain, which would not fuffer him to lose

fo much Time as to force him after- A. D. wards to fail in an unfavourable Season, or 1522. from a Suspicion that Casar sought to make him defer his Passage to Italy; or, as many would have it, because he would not give too much Ground for the Opinion which had been entertained of him from the Beginning, that he could not help being too much devoted to Cæsar, which would obstruct the Negotiation of an universal Peace among Christians, which he had resolved to take upon him. He passed then by Sea to Rome, where he made his Entry on the Twenty Ninth of Pope August, amidst a vast Concourse of Peo-Adrian ple, by whom tho' his Coming was Rome. defired with the utmost Impatience, because Rome, without the Presence of Pontiffs, is more like a Defart than a City, yet the Sight created a Sort of Uneasiness in the Minds of all who. confidered that they had got a Pope of a barbarous Nation, quite unexperienced in the Affairs of Italy, of the Court, and even of those Nations which by long Intercourse were grown familiar

A 4

A. D. to Italy. The Sadness of these Restexions was heightened by a Plague, which
breaking out at Rome at his Arrival, was
interpreted as a very bad Omen of his
Pontificate, and made great Devastation
during the whole Autumn.

THE first Resolution of this Pope was to use his Endeavours for the Recovery of Rimini, and to accommodate the Differences which had subsisted between the Duke of Ferrara and his two last Predecessors. For these Purposes he ordered into Romagna Fifteen Hundred Spanish Foot which he had brought with him as a Convoy to fecure his Passage by Sea. While he was intent on these Things, it appearing to Cæsar that it was of great Importance for the Settlement of the Affairs of Italy to detach the Venetians from the King of France, in Hopes that the Senate, from the Diminution of the French Power and Interest, were disposed to embrace a Peace, and not for the Interests of others to run the Hazard of transferring the War into their own Dominions; he communicated his Purpose to the King of

of England, who had before privately A. D. lent him Money to help him against the King of France, but afterwards laid afide his Dissimulation, and now openly espoused Casar and the Cause: They both sent Ambassadors to the King Venice to sollicit the Senate to enter into a of England sol-Confederacy with Cafar for the Defence licit the of Italy. The Ambassador for Cæsar was against the Girolamo Adorno, and for the King of French. England Richard Pacey, and there was an Ambassador expected from Ferdinand, Brother to Cafar and Archduke of Austria, whoseInterest was necessary, whatever Peace should be made, on account of the many Differences between him and the Venetians. The King of England sent also an Herald to denounce War to the King of France. if he would not make a general Truce with Cafar for Three Years in all Parts of the World, in which should be included the Church, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines, complaining also that he had ceased to pay him the Fifty Thousand Ducats which he was obliged to pay every Year. The King refused to consent to a Truce, and roundly answered that it was not proper to pay Money to one who affifted

A. D. fisted his Enemies with Money: By this 1522. Means the Animosities between them being exasperated, the Ambassadors at each Court were dismissed.

THIS Year Don Giovanni Manuel, who had been Cælar's Plenipotentiary at Rome, departed out of Italy. At his departure he delivered to the Florentines a Schedule of his own Hand-writing, in which it was related how Gæsar by a Schedule written in September 1520 promised Pope Leo to confirm and grand anew to the Florentines the Privileges of the State, the Authority, and the Lands which they poffessed, within Six Months after the first Diet held fince the Coronation which was celebrated at Aix la Chapelle; for he had first promised them to make this Concesfion within Four Months from his Election but said he had not been able, for just Reafons, to expedite it to them at that Time; but Don Giovanni in the Name of Cafar promifed to make good the Contents of the Schedule, which was ratified by Cafar in March 1523, and expedited by a Deed in a very ample Manner.

THIS

A. D. 1522.

This Year Cafar, as was faid before, passed into Spain, where, on his Arrival, he proceeded with Severity against many who had been Authors of the Sedition, and discharged all the rest without inslicting any Punishment: And to accompany his Justice and Clemency with Examples of Rewards, on taking into Confideration that Ferdinando Duke of Calabria, refused to be Leader of the seditious Multitude, and chose rather not to leave his Confinement in the Castle of Sciativa, he fent for him with great Honour to his Court, and not long after gave him in Marriage Germana, Widow of the late Catholic King, and rich, but barren, with a View that in him, who was the last Descendant from old Alfonso, King of Aragon, that Family might become extinct, for his two younger Brothers were both dead before, one in France, and the other in Italy.

But what rendered this an unfortu-Island of nate Year, with very great Reproaches conquerto ed by Solyman the Turk.

A. D. to the Christian Princes was that, towards the End of it Solyman the Ottoman took the Island of Rhodes, under the Government of the Knights of Rhodes, before called Knights of Ferusalem, who taking up their Residence in that Island, after they had been chased from Jerusalem, had for a very long Time, with vast Honour to their Order, preserved it tho' situated in the Midst between the Turk and the Soldan, Princes of fuch mighty Power, and made it confidered as the Bulwark of Christendom in those Seas, tho' the Knights had it laid to their Charge that, amidst their daily Cruises on the Ships of the Infidels, they fometimes took the Liberty to make Prizes of Veffels belonging to Christians. This Island was, for many Months, befieged by a very powerful Army, with the great Turk in Perfon, who lost not the least Time for harraffing the Defendants, fometimes by very furious Assaults, sometimes by working of Mines and Trenches, and fometimes by raifing very large Cavaliers

liers of Earth and Timber, which over- A. D. topped the Walls of the Town, which Works tho' carried on with great Slaughter of his Men, the Number of the Garrison was considerably diminished; so that at length being spent with the continual Fatigues, and their Powder falling short, they were no longer in a Condition to refift such a Multitude of Distresses and Inconveniencies, the Mines having penetrated into many Places of the Town, in which the Befieged, being forced to abandon one after another the advanced Posts, were more and more straitened, till at length reduced to the utmost Necessity they capitulated with the Turk, and it was agreed that the Grand Master should . furrender to him the Town, with Liberty for himself and all the Knights and Rhodians to depart thence in Safety, and to take with them as many of their Effects as they could carry, and for their Security in so doing the Turkish Fleet was to have Orders to quit those Scas, and the Army to draw off to the Distance

A. D. Distance of Five Miles from the Town of Rhodes. By Virtue of this Capitulation, which was faithfully observed, the Turks took Poffession of Rhodes, and the Christians passed over to Sicily, and afterwards into Italy, having found in Sicily a Fleet of Ships fitted out tho' but flowly, thro' the Fault of the Pontiff, for throwing into Rhodes, as foon as the Wind should serve, a Supply of Provisions and warlike Stores. After the City was evacuated Solyman, for the greater Disparagement of the Christian Religion, made his Entry into the Place on the Day of the Nativity of the Son of God, and on that Day, folemnifed with an Infinity of Hymns and Music in Christian .Churches, he caused all the Churches in Rhodes that were dedicated to the Worthip of CHRIST to be converted into Mosques, which according to the Cuftom of the Turks, the Christian Rites being totally abolished, were dedicated to the Worship of Mahomet. Thus ended the Year 1522, with fo much Ignominy to the Christian Name, and fuch

fuch were the Fruits of the Disorders of A. D. our Princes, tolerable however if the Example of past Losses had given Instructions for the Time to come, but the Continuation of the Divisions among the Princes occasioned as great Calamities in 1523.

In the Beginning of this Year the 1523. Malatesti knowing themselves too weak to resist the Forces of the Pope, by the Interpolition of the Duke of Urbino, were content to yield up Rimini and its Castle, with a View, tho' uncertain, of obtaining a Maintenance for Pandolfo during his Life, which did not take Effect. The Duke of Urbino afterwards waited on the Pontiff, and the glorious Memory of Pope Julius pleading in his Favour with his Holiness, and with the greater Part of the Court, he obtained Absolution from Censures, and to be re-invested Pope rewith the Dutchy of Urbino, but with ceives into the Clause, without Prejudice to Rights, the Duke with a View of not prejudicing the Af-of Urbino. fignment which had been made of Montefeltro

A. D. tefeltro to the Florentines, who affirmed that they had lent Pope Leo for the Defence of that Dutchy Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, and that they had expended about Sixty Thousand Ducats more fince his Death, in several Places for the Preservation of the State of the Church.

And the Duke of Ferrara.

THE Pope also received into Favour the Duke of Ferrara, reinvesting him not only with Ferrara, and all the Lands which, before the War made by Leo against the French, he possessed belonging to the Church, but, highly to his Difgrace, or that of his Ministers, who imposed upon his Ignorance in those Affairs, left him also in Possession of the Castles of San Felice and Finale. which being acquired by him when he entered into a War with Leo, and afterwards lost before his Death, he had taken the Opportunity of the Vacancy of the See to possess himself of anew. The Duke of Ferrara obliged himself to affift the Church with a certain Number of Troops,

Troops when they should be wanted for A. D. 1523. the Defence of its State; and bound himfelf under most grievous Penalties, subjecting himself also to the Disannulling of his Investiture, and the Forfeiture of all his Rights in case he should for the future offend any more the Apostolic See. The Pope gave him good Hopes of his Intentions to restore him to the Possession of Modena and Reggio; but as to this Point, on a Representation to his Holiness of the Importance of the Affair, and from the Example of his Predeceflors, what an Infamy fuch a Step would cast upon his Name, he became more and more averse to restore those Cities.

At this Time the Castle of Milan Castle of labouring under a Scarcity of every Thing Milan surrender-excepting Bread, and the Garrison being ed to very sickly, capitulated to surrender on Casar. Condition of Sasety to Persons and Essects, if it were not relieved by the 14th Day of April, at which Term the Capitulation being observed, most of the People in the Place were sound to be dead. Casar Vol. VIII. B con-

A. D. consented that the Castle should be refigned into the Hands of Francesco Sforza, the Duke, for which he was highly commended by the Italians. now the French had nothing left in their Possession in Italy but the Castle of Cremona, which was still abundantly provided with Necessaries. These Successes however were no Relief to the Miseries of the Inhabitants of the Milanese, who were extremely grieved by the Cafarean Army, because they did not receive their Pay. For the same Reason, when they were on their March to take up their Quarters in Asti and in its Territory, they mutinied. and plundered all the Country as far as Vigevano; so that the Milanese, to put a Stop to these Devastations, and to save the Country from being entirely ruined, were constrained to promise them their Pay at certain Terms, which amounted to about One Hundred Thousand Ducats These Hardships, however, did not in the least mitigate the Hatred of the People towards the French, being kept steady, partly by Fear, remembring the Injuries they -ROD

they had received from that Nation, A. D. and partly by Hopes that whenever the Danger of a fresh Attack from the King of France upon that State was ceased, they should be eased of so great a Burden, because there would be no Necessity for Cæsar to keep any standing Forces in the Milanese.

AT this same Time was under conti- Peace nenual Negotiation an Agreement between between Cæfar and the Venetians, which on ac- Cæfar and count of the many Difficulties that arose, tians. and the various Delays interposed by them, kept the Friends of both Parties in Sufpense concerning the Issue. This Tediousness, and perhaps also the Difficulty of the Negotiation were increased by the Death of Girolamo Adorno, who being a Person of a great Spirit and Experience, tho' a young Man, managed the Treaty with Authority, and with fingular Dexterity. In his Room was fent from Milan. with a Commission from Cæsar, Marino Carracciolo, the Apostolical Protonotary. who many Years after was by Pope B 2 Paul

A. D. Paul III. advanced to the Dignity of the Cardinal (hip. This Treaty, which was carried on at Venice, was under Debate many Months, because on the other Side the King of France by his Ambassadors, laboured with the greatest Diligence and Affiduity in opposing it, fometimes promising by Letters, sometimes by trusty Agents, to pass into Italy with a very potent Army. On this Occasion there was great Variety of Opinions among the Senators, and continual Disputes; for many advised not to abandon the Confederacy with the King, in Confidence that he would foon fend an Army into Italy This Hope the King endeavouring with the utmost Industry to cherish, had, befides many others, lately fent to Venice Renzo da Ceri, to make the same Promise. and to fignify that the Preparations were in Readiness. Others from Experience of past Events, considering that King's Negligence in executing his Projects, could not persuade themselves that his Passage could take Effect; and they were confirmed in this Opinion by the Letters of Giovanni

Giovanni Badoaro, their Ambassador in France, who giving Credit to what had 1523. been reported to him of the Duke of Bourbon, (who had already very fecretly conspired against the King, and wished that the Venetians would join with Ca-(ar) assured them that the King of France would neither pass in Person, nor send an Army this Year into Italy. Others were intimidated by the ill Success of the King, and by the good Fortune of Cafar, and with the Confideration that the Duke of Milan, the Genoele and the Florentines, with all Tuscany espoused the Party of Cæsar, and it was believed that the Pope would do the fame: And out of Italy, Cafar was in close Alliance with the Archduke of Austria his Brother, a Neighbour to the Venetian State, and with the King of England, who was continually making War in Picardy. In this Variety of Opinions among the principal Members of the Senate as well as others, the Maturity of Affairs, and the most preffing Instances of the Ambassadors of Casar not admitting of any further Delay in coming to a Resolution, the Council of B 3 the

A. D. the Pregadi was at last convoked in order to determine their Choice. Here Andrea Gritti, a Person of the highest Authority in that Republic for his Administration of the most important Affairs, and his many remarkable Exploits, and whose Name was very samous over all Italy and in the Courts of foreign Princes, made a Speech, as it is said, in Substance as sollows.

Speech of Andrea Gritti.

"Though I am sensible, most excellent Senators, there is cause to fear that if I should give my Advice not to separate ourselves from our Confederacy with the King of France, some may understand by it that I am more influenced with respect to the long Conversation I have had with the French than by a regard to the Commonwealth, I shall not however forbear on that account to express my Mind freely as it is the Right and Duty of a good Citizen; nay, that Citizen and Senator is of no Service who, for any Reason whatsoever, shews himself backward in persuading others to what he thinks in his own Mind to be for the Benefit

A. D. 1523.

Benefit of the Republic. I persuade myself however that this Interpretation will not take Place with Men of Prudence, because they will consider not only what have been my Manners and Actions at all Times, but also that I have never treated with the King of France, or with his Ministers, but as your Minister, and by your Commission and Orders. But besides this I shall be justified, if I deceive not myself by the Probability of the Reasons which induce me to embrace this Opinion. debating whether we ought to make a new Confederacy with Cæfar, contrary to the Faith we have given, and to the Obligations of the Confederacy in which we are engaged with the King of France: a Point which, in my Opinion, means no other than to establish the Power of Casar, already formidable to every one, in fuch a Manner as that it being imposfible for us to find any further Remedy for moderating or repressing it, we shall fee it continually increasing to our manifest Prejudice. We have no Reason that can justify this Resolution, for the King B 4 has

A. D. has always observed our Confederacy, and if the Effects have not answered in being fo ready as we could wish to renew the War in Italy, it is very well known that, fince he was stimulated to do it, by his own Interest, there can be no other Cause for his Backwardness than the Impediments which he has met with, and still finds in the Kingdom of France, which indeed have been sufficient to make him defer his Defigns, but will never be able wholly to crush them. For fo ardent is his Defire to recover the State of Milan, fo great is his Power, that as foon as he has repelled the first Efforts of his Enemies, which he will eafily fuftain, nothing will retard him from fending afresh a very great Force on this Side the Mountains. We have before our Eyes in both these respects the repeated Example of King Lewis, who, when France was attacked by Armies much more potent than those which at present molest it, almost the whole World having conspired against him, by the Greatness of his Force the Strength of the Places on his Frontiers. and the Fidelity of his People, eafily defended

1523.

fended himself, and when all Men were of Opinion that the Fatigues of the War must have laid him under a Necessity of taking some time for Rest, on a sudden he descended into Italy with powerful Armies. Did not the present King do the same in the Beginning of his Reign, when every one believed that because he was newly come to the Crown, and found the royal Treasury exhausted by the infinite Expences of his Predecessor, he must have been under a Necessity of deferring the War to another Year? We ought not therefore to be intimidated by this Slowness, nor would it be a sufficient Excuse for our Variations, since our Confederate is not retarded by his Will but by the Impediments that have intervened, not from any just Cause that we have to complain of his Conjunction, nor from any decent Pretence afforded us to separate ourselves from his Alliance. This Resolution demands of us a Regard to Decency, a Regard to the Dignity of the Venetian Senate; but it requires no less a Regard to our Utility, or rather to our Safety. For who is so ignorant as not

doing.

A. D. to know of what great Benefit it may be to us, and from how many Dangers it may free us, if the King of France recovers the State of Milan, and what a peaceful Situation for many Years it may produce in our Affairs? This we may learn from the Example of what happened but a few Years ago, when the Recovery of the Milanese by that King was the Cause that we, who before at a vast Expence and Hazard attended to the Defence of Padoua and Trevigi, recovered Brescia and Verona; was the Cause that, while he kept quiet Possession of that Dutchy, we enjoyed absolute Peace and Security in all our Dominions. These are Examples that ought to have much greater Weight with us than the antient Memory of the League of Cambray, for the Kings of France have learned by Experience, what they had not comprehended by Reason, the great Damage they would receive by being separated from our Alliance; a Point of which they will without comparison be more sensible at the present Juncture, in which that King has for a Rival an Emperor, Sovereign of fo many Kingdoms.

doms, and of fuch Greatness, whose A. D. Power will necessitate him to desire and to set the highest Value upon our Confederacy. But on the contrary who is he that fees not, and knows not in what a dangerous Situation our Affairs will remain as foon as the King of France shall be totally excluded from making any Attempt upon Italy? Who can hinder Cafar from appropriating to himself or to his Brother the Dutchy of Milan, of which he has not to this Day ever granted the Investiture to Francesco Sforza? And if. as it is very plain, he will have the Power to do it, what Security can be given of his Will? Who is he that can promife that, fince the Dutchy of Milan ferves as Stairs for ascending to the Empire of all Italy, Cæsar will be more influenced by a Regard to Justice and Honour, than by Ambition, and a Covetousness proper and natural to all great Princes? Shall we perhaps be secured by the Moderation and Temperance of his Ministers in Italy, who are almost all Spaniards, a deceith and most rapacious Nation, and insatiable above all others? If Cafar then or Ferdinando

A.D. dinando his Brother should appropriate Milan, what will be the Condition of our State, when surrounded by them on the Side of Italy, and of Germany? What Remedy can we expect for our Dangers, the Kingdom of Naples being in his Hands, the Pope and the other States of Italy his Dependants, and every one of our Friends so exhausted of Money, and bare of Troops, that no Assistance can be hoped from them? But if the King of France should get Possession of the Dutchy of Milan, Affairs resting in a Balance between two fuch Princes, whoever should have Reason to be apprehensive of the Power of one would be regarded and Supported by that of the other: And even the Fear alone of his Coming fecures all others, fince it constrains the Imperialists to lie still, and not to employ themselves in any Enterprise. Wherefore it seems to me that we are rather to laugh than to be terrified at the Vanity of those who threaten that, if we confederate not with Cafar, they will turn their Arms against us, as if to engage in a War with the Venetian Senate were an easy Undertaking, and there there was Reason to hope for a speedy A. D. Victory, and as if it were a Means for 1523. preventing the Passage of the King of France, and not rather a Cause of the contrary: For who doubts that, when they have provoked us, we shall be obliged to propose such Conditions to the King as would induce him to pass, even tho' he were of himself averse to it. Was not this the very Case in the Time of King Lewis, when their Injuries and treacherous Dealings induced us to stimulate that King, when I from his Prisoner became your Ambassador, that at a Juncture when he was most apprehensive of being very powerfully attacked in France, he fent his Army tho' with ill Fortune, into Italy? Can you imagine that if the Imperialists had thought that the Way to procure them our Friendship, or to keep the King of France out of Italy, was to fall upon us, they would have hitherto delayed to begin Hostilities, because perhaps their Generals had no covetous Defires to enrich themselves with Plunder and the Gains of War, or else perhaps were under no Necessity of easing the Country

Country of their Friends of its Burden of quartering Troops, of getting Money for disburthening it, and to maintain the Army upon free Quarters in the Territories of others? But they have found by Experience that our Power renders it too difficult to force us to this Inconvenience, and they know it is not for their Interest, who are every Day apprehensive of a War with the King of France, to involve themselves in another War, and to give Occasion to a State powerful in Forces and Money, from the Greatness of their Injuries, to stimulate a French Invasion. While they remain in these Doubts and Jealousies they will not feize on the Dutchy of Milan for themselves, nor ever after affront us but with vain Menaces. If we secure them from these Apprehensions it will lie in their Power to accomplish either, and if they should put their Scheme in Execution, as probably they will, of whom can we chiefly complain but of ourselves and of our excessive Timidity, and immoderate Defire of Peace? Peace indeed is defirable, and a Bleffing. when it is secure from Jealousies, when it

A. D.

encreases not the Danger, and when it induces Men to think themselves at Liberty to enjoy Rest, and to free themselves from Expences. But when it produces contrary Effects, it is, under the infidious Name of Peace, a pernicious War, and under the Name of a wholesome Medicine, a destructive Poison. Wherefore if our joining in Confederacy with Cæsar excludes the King of France from making an Attempt upon Italy, we give Cæsar the Liberty of feizing at his Pleasure on the Dutchy of Milan, and when he is once possessed of that State to study our Destruction. Hence it will follow that, with the greatest Reproach to our Name, and with the Violation of the Faith of this Republic, we purchase the Aggrandisement of a Prince who has extended his Ambition no less than his Power, and who pretends with his Brother that all we possess on the Terra Firma belongs to them; and that we exclude from Italy a Prince whose greatness is a Security to all others, and who would be necessitated to continue in the strictest Union with us. Now a Person who proposes such evident

and

and palpable Reasons cannot be charged as under the Influence of a new Affection, rather than of Truth, or of private Interest, rather than of Love to the Republic, of whose Safety we have no Reason to doubt if it shall please God to grant so much Success to your Resolutions as he has bestowed Wisdom on this most excellent Senate."

But Giorgio Cornaro, a Citizen of equal Authority, and of as high a Reputation for Wisdom, as any Member of that Senate, made the following Speech in Opposition to this Advice.

"THE present Debate most illustrious Senators, is certainly of very great Importance, and very difficult. And yet
when I consider the Ambition and Faithlesses of the Princes of our Times, and
the Incongruity of their Nature with the
Nature of Republics, which not being
governed by the Will of a single Person,
but by the Consent of many, proceed with
more Moderation, and with greater Respects, nor ever arbitrarily depart, as is
frequent

frequent with Princes, from what has A. D. fome Appearance of Justice and Honour, 1523. I cannot but conclude with myself that it must be very pernicious to us that the Dutchy of Milan should be under a Prince more powerful than ourselves. For fuch a Vicinity will of Necessity keep us under continual Jealousies and Uneafiness, and tho' we may be at Peace, it will be proper for us to be almost perpetually plotting on War, notwithstanding any Confederacy or Convention that may Of this we find subsist between us. infinite Examples in antient Historians. and some in our own Writers; but what greater and more illustrious Examples can there be than those, the bitter Memory of which is engraven in all our Hearts? This Senate introduced Lewis King of France into the Dutchy of Milan, at which unfortunate Resolution many of us were prefent. We religiously observed the Articles of our Confederacy with him, tho' we were invited by the Spaniards and Germans with great Rewards, and on different Occasions, to detatch ourselves from him, and were affured that he was of-VOL. VIII. ten

A. D. ten plotting our Destruction. Not the Benefit received, nor the Faith given, nor the perpetual Train of our good Offices for cultivating his Friendship, were capable of mollifying his Spirit, which was entirely bent on our Ruin, 'for which Purpose he at last reconciled himself with his antient and most bitter Enemies, and joined with them against us in the most pernicious League of Cambray. To avoid therefore the Dangers which will be continually hanging over our Heads from the infidious and deceitful Neighbourhood of great Princes, it will be necessary for us, if I mistake not, to direct all our Resolutions with a View that the Dutchy of Milan might not fall into the Hands of the King of France nor of the Emperor. but may come into the Possession of Francesco Sforza, or of some other who is not formidable for his Kingdoms or great Dominions. On this Resolution depends the present, and, if the Condition of the Times should alter, the future Augmentation and Aggrandisement of our State. We are not to confult whether we ought to continue in Friendship with the King of France,

or join in Confederacy with Cæfar: One A. D. of these two Resolutions totally excludes Francesco Sforza from the Dutchy of Milan, and gives Admittance to the King of France, a Prince so much more potent than ourselves; the other tends to confirm and secure Sforza in the Possession of that Dutchy, which Cafar proposes to include as the principal Article of our Confederacy, and has promifed the King of England to observe it. Wherefore if he should attempt to deprive him of that State, he would not only offend us, and the other Italian States, to whom he would give Occasion to have recourse once more to the French, but disoblige the King of England, for whom, all the World knows, he ought to have the greatest Respect, and would besides provoke the People of the Milanese, who are perfectly devoted to Francesco Sforza. By such a Step he would involve himself in a Multitude of Difficulties and Dangers and highly to his Dishonour, be guilty of a Breach of Faith, which he has hitherto, for ought that appears, preserved inviolable, which cannot be faid of the French;

C 2

nay,

A D. nay, what is more, his restoring to Francesco Sforza, after the Death of Pope Leo, the State of Milan, refigning into his Hands the Fortresses successive. ly as he acquired them, and at last, contrary to what many expected, putting him in Possession of the Castle of Milan, must be taken as manifest Signs that he intends to fulfil his Engagement. Why then should we hesitate in preferring a Refolution which gives us great Hopes of answering our Intentions before one that manifestly tends to an End repugnant to our Views? In Opposition to this we are told it would be more dangerous to this Republic for the Dutchy of Milan to be under the Dominion of the Emperor than of the King of France, because that King, by the Greatness of Cæfar, and the Emulation between them would be in a manner necessitated to perfevere in strict Alliance with us; but from Cafar we may expect quite the contrary, both on account of his Power and of the Claims which he and his Brother pretend to have on our State. believe that whoever has such an Opini.

on of Cæsar is not deceived, considering A. D. the Nature and Manners of fuch great Princes; and I heartily wish he may not deceive himself who has not the same Opinion of the King of France. Many of the same Reasons were in Force under his Predecessor, who was however more swayed by Covetousness and Ambition than by a Sense of Honour, or of his own Profit. Besides the Reasons which might oblige him to continue united with us are not perpetual, but vary from Time to Time, according to the Nature of human Affairs. Cafar is subject to the common Lot of Mortals. and, like other Princes greater than himfelf, liable to infinite Accidents of Fortunes and how long ago is it that, when all Spain was in an Infurrection against him he appeared more worthy of Commiseration than Envy? And at least there is not so much Difference between one Danger and another as there is between a Resolution that certainly excludes us from obtaining our End, and one that probably will lead us to its Accomplishment. Moreover the Reasons alledged by the worthy Sena-

C 3

A. D. tor have a Respect only to future and distant Dangers; but if we consider the present State of Affairs, it is not to be doubted that if we refuse an Alliance with Cafar we shall immediately expose ourselves to greater Distresses and Dangers. For if we break off our Confederacy with the King of France it is very probable that he will defer his military Operations till a more convenient Time and Opportunity; but if we are in Conjunction with him, he may perhaps think fit immediately to enter upon Action, which will of Necessity create us Trouble and Expence. But in what Case is the War with the King likely to be attended with the greatest Danger to our State? If we join with Cæsar we may almost conclude for certain that the Victory will fall on our Side: An Event which we cannot fo well promife ourselves by an Union with the King of France. And by confederating with Cæsar even the Victory of the King would not prove of fuch dangerous Consequence as would refult from a contrary Refolution; for in fuch a Case the whole Force

of the victorious Arms will be turned a- A. D. gainst us, and Casar would not only find himself under less Restraint, and fewer Impediments, but prompted in a manner by Necessity, to seize on the Dutchy of Milan. To what is urged concerning our Tie of Confederacy the Answer is easy; for we promised the King of France to defend the States which he possessed in Italy, not to recover them after he had lost them; there is nothing to that Purpose in the Instrument of our Articles, nor do these Reasons at all affect us. We fulfilled our Obligation when at the Loss of Milan, occasioned by their Want of Provisions for its Defence, our Troops suffered more than the French: We fulfilled them when we fent our Forces to the Affiffance of Lautrech on his Return with the Swifs. We went beyond our Obligations when we fuffered ourselves to be induced by them with vain Hopes and Promises to wait for so many Months together the coming of his Army. If Will detained him, why should we feek to bear the Punishment of his Faults? If Necessity, is not that same Reason

A. D. Reason sufficient to justify us to him, even tho' we were under any Obligations? I know not for what we should be any longer bound to the King of France, fince we have first been abandoned by him. I know not what farther is required of one Confederate from another, or how our Dangers can do him any Service. I affirm not that the imperial Generals have at present any Thoughts of going to War with us, nor will I prefume to affert the contrary, confidering the Necessity they lie under of subsisting the Army on the States of their Neighbours, and the Hopes they may have of drawing us by that Means into an Alliance with them, especially if the King of France should not pass, of which if any one doubts, he has, in my Opinion sufficient Reason for his doubting from the Negligence of the French, and their Want of Money, of which they have been exhausted by the Wars, in which they are engaged beyond the Mountains, with two fuch Princes. Nor can he be justly blamed who believes this to be true on the Credit of your Ambassadors, for Ambaffadors

bassadors are the Eyes and Ears of A.D. States. In short I repeat it again as my Opinion that we ought to use our utmost Endeavours, and be most sollicitous that the Dutchy of Milan may be settled on Francesco Sforza, whence it will sollow that a Resolution which conducts to this End, is more for our Utility than one that totally excludes us from it."

THE Authority of two such Perfonages, and the Efficacy of their Reafons rather more perplexed than determined the Minds of the Senators, whence the Senate prolonged as much a possible, their coming to a Resolution, induced to this Delay by their own Nature, the Weightiness of the Affair, and a Desire to see first some further Progress of the King of France; many Difficulties also were thrown in their Way arising from a Necessity of their coming to an Agreement with the Archduke. The King of France increased their Doubts and Suspension of Mind by his present careful Attention to the Preparations of War, and A. D. and his sending the Bishop of Bayeux,

1523. to intreat them to delay their Resolution for the whole next ensuing Month, declaring that before the End of that Term he would pass into Italy with a greater Army than had ever been feen in that Country within the Memory of Man. While they remained under this Ambiguity, the Doge Antonio Grimano happened to die, and Andrea Gritti was elected in his Room, which was rather a Differvice to the French Interest than otherwise: for Gritti seated in that high Dignity left the Resolution entirely to the Senate, and would never from that Time, either by Words or Actions, shew himself inclined to either Party. At last the King continually sending to the Senate new Agents with very large Offers, and it being affured that Anne de Montmorency, afterwards Grand Constable

of France, and Federigo de Bozzole were coming to Venice on the same Business. the Imperial and English Ambassadors, who were very jealous of this Delay, protested to the Senate that they would depart at the end of three Days, and leave

the

Andrea Gritti Doge of Venice.

nate therefore being under a Necessity of coming to a Resolution, and putting no Faith in the Promises of the King of France, whose Credit was diminished by his having amused them for so many Months together, with vain Hopes, but much more by the Intelligence they received from their Ambassador residing at his Court in contradiction to the Agent's Promises, determined to embrace the Friendship of Casar, with whom they made a Convention on the following Conditions.

That between Cæsar, Ferdinando Articles of Archduke of Austria, Francesco Sforza between Duke of Milan, on one Part, and the Cæsar and the Venetian Senate on the other, should be tians. a perpetual Pcace and Confederacy: That the Senate should be obliged to send, whenever there should be Occasion, for the Defence of the Dutchy of Milan, Six hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred Light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot; and the same Force for the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples; in case

Urbino

neral of

tians.

case it should be molested by any Chri-1523. stian Power; which Limitation was inserted because the Venetians refused to oblige themselves in general to defend that Country, that they might not provoke a War with the Turks. Cafar entered into the same Obligation to defend whatever was in the Possession of the Venetians in Italy: And the Venetians were to pay the Archduke, on account of old Differences, and of the Agreement made at Worms, in the Space of Eight Years, Two Hundred Thousand Ducats. As foon as this Convention was made the Venetians dismissed from their Service Teedoro da Trivulzio, and elected for Go-Duke of vernor General of their Forces, on the made Ge-same Conditions, Francesco Maria Duke of the Vene- Urbino.

> IT was generally thought all over Italy that the King of France, on hearing that those from whom he expected Affistance were become his Enemies, would lay afide for this Year all Thoughts of invading the Dutchy of Milan; but when it was

known

known that he not only continued his A. D.

Preparations but had begun to put his

Army in Motion; those who dreaded the

Consequences of his Victory, entered into
a new Confederacy against him, and
prevailed on the Pope to be at the Head
of the League.

ADRIAN desirous of a general Peace on his first coming into Italy, had intreated Cæsar and the Kings of France and England to lay down their Arms, so pernicious to the Christian Commonwealth, and especially at a time when the Turks were in such a Career of Success; and that they would fend to Rome their respective Ambassadors with full Powers. They all apparently complied at once with his Request, but no sooner began to treat than they found it would be all Labour loft; for a Peace was obstructed by infinite Difficulties, and a short Truce was not pleasing to Casar because it procured him no Advantage, and to a long one the King of France would

not consent. The Pope therefore influ-A. D. 1523. enced either by his antient Benevolence towards Cæfar, or perfuaded that the King of France had no real Thought of coming to an Agreement, began more than usual to give Ear to those who persuaded him not to permit the King to get Possession anew of the Dutchy of Milan.

Cardinal in Favour at Rome.

THE Cardinal de' Medici, who till now de Medici had kept himself retired at Florence for fear of a Persecution from his many Adversaries, and especially from the Cardinal of Volterra who feemed to have had a great Sway with the Pope, taking Courage at this change of Measures, came to Rome, and was received with particular Marks of Respect by the greatest Part of the Court. He began immediately to confer with the Duke of Seffa, the Imperial Minister, and the English Ambasfadors, and all jointly follicited his Holiness to favour the Cause of Casar. Volterra's bad Fortune at this Time, getting as usual the better of his Prudence and of all his Artifices, greatly injured his Affairs, put his Person in Danger, and at the fame

dinal de' Medici to encrease his Favour and Authority with his Holiness, who had hitherto shewn a great Partiality for Volterra, because with great Dexterity, solid Reasons and fine Speeches, he had made him believe he had greatly at Heart the Peace amongst Christian Princes.

But when Francesco Imperiali after Volterra his Banishment on his Way to France, imprison'd by means of the Duke of Sessa, was stopped at Castelnuovo, in the Neighbourhood of Rome, in fearthing his Papers fome Letters were found written by Volterra to the Bishop of Sens his Nephew, exhorting him to press the King of France to invade Sicily with a Fleet; which obliging Cæsar to attend to its Defence, would render more easy the Recovery of the Dutchy of Milan. The Pope was amazed at this Discovery, and thinking he had been grosly deceived, and at the same Time being vehemently sollicited by the Duke of Seffa, and Cardinal de' Medici, he fent for Volterra, confined him in Castel Sant Angelo, and gave Orders to have

A. D. have him tried as a Delinquent against the Pontifical Majesty, for inviting the King of France to forcibly attack Sicily, a Fief of the Holy See. The Process however was carried on but flowly, and after he had been examined, was allowed Council to plead: But the same Moderation was not practifed in regard to his Effects, for the Day he was arrested Adrian seized on all the Goods and Money in his House. By means of the Cardinal's Imprisonment a Plot also was discovered of some Sicilians in favour of France, for which Count Camerata, Maeftro Portulano, and the Treasurer of the Island were quartered.

This Proceeding had greatly incensed Adrian against the King, and after confulting for several Days the Cardinal de' Medici, at last the Rumour continually increasing of his Majesty's Designs, he came to a Resolution of opposing him, and in a Consistory, after expatiating on the imminent Danger of Christendom from the Grand Turk, on account of the King of France's Obstinacy in resusing to come into

into the Truce in Agitation, which would A. D. have removed all Apprehensions, it was he faid, the Bufiness of the Vicars of CHRIST, Successors of the Prince of the Apostles, to be anxious for the Preservation of the Peace amongst the Faithful, and therefore his Zeal for the public Welfare, obliged him to join those who laboured to prevent Disturbances in Italy; because on that depended the Peace of the whole World. Conformable to the Intent of this Harangue, on the Third Day of August, the Vice King of Naples being come to Rome for that Purpose, a League and Confederacy was figned between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of England, the A League Archduke, the Duke of Milan, the Car-between dinal de' Medici with the Florentines and other and the Genoese, for the Defence of Italy, Powers, against to last during the Life of the Confederates, France. and a Year after any one of their Deaths, and Room was left for any Prince to accede, provided it were with the Approbation of the Pope, Cafar, the King of England, and the Archduke, and should give Security that he would profecute his Pretentions by the Way VOL. VIII. of

A. D. of Justice and not by Force of Arms. That for the Defence of any of the Confederates who might be attacked in Italy an Army should be raised; that the Pope, should furnish Two Hundred Men at Arms, Cæsar Eight Hundred, the Florentines Two Hundred, the Duke of Milan Two Hundred, and also Two Hundred Light Horse. That the Pope, Cafar, and the Duke of Milan should provide the Artillery and Ammunition, and be at all the Charges attending them. That for the Maintainance of the Foor and other Expences of the Army, the Pope, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines should contribute each Twenty Thoufand Ducats per Month, the Emperor Thirty Thousand, the States of Genoa. Siena, and Lucca Ten Thousand between them. The Genoese besides were to pay the Cost of their Marine, and for what Troops were necessary to defend their own Dominions. That every one's Quota should be paid for Three Months certain, and as long after as the Pope, jointly with the Emperor and the King of England, should declare it necessary. That the

the Pope and Cæsar should have the No-A.D. mination of a Captain General; and the Vice King of Naples was expected to be the Man, especially as he was proposed by the Cardinal de' Medici, who was in great Repute with the Emperor, and bore a great Malice against Prospero Colonna. The Marquis of Mantoua was but indirectly admitted into this Confederacy, because the Pope and Florentines, had constituted him their General at their own Charge.

But neither the League which the Venetians had made with the Emperor, nor the Union of so many Potentates contracted with such vast Provisions were able to cool the Ardor of the King of France, who, lately arrived at Lions, was bent on passing into Italy with a numerous Army, where the very Rumour of his Coming had begun to excite new Tumults.

Lione, Brother to Alberto Pio, recovered Lione by Surprise the Town of Carpi, which takes Carpi was negligently guarded by Giovanni Coscia, who had been placed there by Prospero Colonna, to whom the Emperor

A.D. ror had given that Town, after declaring Alberto a Rebel of the Empire.

Bonifacio Visconti attempts the Duke of Milan.

Bur a greater Accident had like to have happened in the Dutchy of Mito murder lan; for as Francesco Sforza was riding on a Mule from Monza to Milan, his Horse-guards following at a Distance that he might be less annoyed with the Dust raised by the Horses, which is very troublesome in the Plains of Lombardy during the Summer; Bonifacio Visconti, a young Man more regarded for the Name of his Family than for his Riches, Honours, or other good Qualities, being near him mounted on a mettlesome Turkish Horse, when he came to a Place where Four Roads meet, giving his Horse a sudden Jerk struck at the Duke's Head with a Dagger: But not being able to keep his fiery Horse steady, and the Mule starting at the same Time he missed of his Aim, and Bonifacio being much the taller and on a larger Beast, the Dagger directed to the Head grazed on the Back. Bonifacio then drawing his Sword made another Stroke.

Stroke, but that also grazing only with A. D. the Edge of the Blade on his Side, he 1523. received no Hurt. By this Time the Duke's Retinue coming up, Visconti rode away, and tho' purfued by the Guards, by the goodness of his Steed got safe into Piedmont. What induced him to perpetrate so wicked a Fact, was that a few Months before Monsignorino Visconti was affaffinated in Milan by Girolamo Morone, and, as was faid, at the Duke's Instigation: If Fortune had rewarded this cunning and bold Attempt, we must have beheld an Example which has very rarely or never before happened, that on the public Road at Noon Day, so great a Prince, attended by fo numerous and armed a Guard, in the Midst of his Dominions, should fall by the Hands of a single Man, and that the Affaffin should make his Escape. * The Duke thus wound-D 3 ed

^{*} Visconti owed the Duke a Grudge for being broke at the Siege of the Castle of Milan, and afterwards for being refused the Government of a Town; and lastly for the Death of Astorre Visconti here called Monsignerine, who was his Uncle.

A. D. ed returned to Monza, being fully perfuaded that there was some Plot carrying on against him at Milan; Prospero, and Morone entertained the same Suspicion, and instantly sent to apprehend Visconti's the Bishop of Alessandria, Bishop of Brother Alefanwho, without any Resistance, trusting to dria im-Prospero's Honour, delivered himself up prisoned. to him, and after Examination was committed to the Cassle of Cremona. But the Opinions of the Public were various as to his being conscious or not of the Fact.

Valenza taken by Birago.

va.

ABOUT this very Time Galeazzo Birago with other Milanese Exiles, affisted by some French Soldiers that were in Piedmont, was admitted into Valenza, through the Treachery of the Governor, a Savoyard, but Antonio da Leva, taking with him fome light Horse and the Spanish Foot that were in Asti, instantly laid Siege to the Town, which being in a weak Condition, and the Enemy not having had Time to fortify it, after planting the Arand retak-tillery he reduced in two Days, and had en by Le the same Success with the Castle, having killed killed in the Two Assaults above Four A. D. Hundred Men, and taken many Prisoners, amongst the rest Birago the Author of these Disturbances.

THE French Army all this While Bourbou's was passing the Alps, and was to be Plot. followed by the King, who was prevented by the Discovery of a Plot formed by the Duke of Bourbon, who for his Nobility, being of the Blood Royal, for his vast Estate, for the Dignity of his Office of Great Constable, and for the universal Fame of his Valour, was the first and most regarded Personage in the Kingdom of France: He had been out of the Royal Favour for some Years, and on that account was not let into the Secrets of the Cabinet, nor trusted in those Posts to which his Dignity feemed to intitle him. To this was added, that the King's Mother, on some old Claims, follicited the Parliament of Paris to decree away his Estate in her Favour. The Duke finding he could obtain no Redress from the King, full of Resentment, by the Means of Bu-

ren

A.D. ren the Emperor's Confident, and Great 1523. Chamberlain, had entered very secretly into a Confederacy, a few Months before, with Cæsar and the King of England, and to consolidate this Alliance Casar agreed to give him in Matrimony, his Sifter Eleonora, the Widow of Emanuel King of Portugal. The Execution of the Plot depended on the King's going in Person to the War, which was artfully promoted by the King of England, who made him believe that he might rest secure of his not molesting the Kingdom of France that year; as foon as Francis had passed the Mountains, Bourbon was to enter Burgundy with Twelve Thoufand Foot, who, with German and English Money, were already fecretly inlifting. Bourbon was confident that, when once the King was absent from the Kingdom, he should accomplish his Ends. Of the Conquests that he should make in France, he was to keep for himfelf, Provence, which he claimed thro' the Rights of the Anjouins, and it was to be created into a Kingdom in his Favour; all the rest of the conquered Places

THE WARS IN ITALY.

Places were to remain to the King of A. D. England.

THE Duke in order to excuse his not attending his Majesty into Italy, Ropped at Maulins, where he feigned himself sick; the King, in passing thro' that Town in his Way to Lions, haying received some blind Intimation of this Plot, frankly told the Duke, that some People had endeavoured to render his Conduct fuspicious, but that he could rest secure on his experienced Virtues and Loyalty. The Duke returned most humble Thanks to his Majesty for treating him with fo much Freedom and Confidence, then thanking God for giving him a King incapable of being prepossessed by idle Stories and false Calumnies, promised that as soon as his Health would permit, which, from the Slightness of the Indisposition he had Reason to think might be in a few Days, he should follow him to Lions, and accompany him wherever he went.

.4. D. 1523. Bur the King was no sooner arrived The Plot at Lions, than he received Intelligence discovered that, on the Frontiers of Burgundy, there were affembling a Number of German Foot, which, adding to his former Suspicions, and some intercepted Letters making a clearer Discovery, he San Vale- ordered San Valerio, Boifi, the Brothers rio and o- of Palisse, the Master of the Posts, and thers imthe Bishop of Autun to be apprehended prisoned. as Accomplices, and the Grand Master was fent with Four Hundred Horse and Four Thousand Foot to Moulins to fecure the Duke of Bourbon, but was too late, for Bourbon suspecting a Discovery, and fearing the Passes might be guarded, had, in a difguifed Habit, got into Franche Compté.

Bonivette
This important Discovery put off
goes into
Italy with
the Army. however prevent him, after retaining
part of the Forces designed for the new
War, from sending thither Bonivette the
Admiral of France, at the Head of Eighteen Hundred Lances, Six Thousand
Swiss,

Swiss, Two Thousand Gascons, Two A. D. Thousand Valesse, Six Thousand Ger. mans, Twelve Thousand French, and Three Thousand Italians, who passing the Mountains with this Army, after approaching the State of Milan, made a Feint as if he intended to march to Novara, and as that City was unprovided with Men, and had no Out-works, the Duke of Milan fent Orders to furren- Novara der the Town, but not the Castle. gevano for the same Reason acted in thewans. fame manner, so that all the Country beyond the Tesino came into the Possession of the French.

PROSPERO COLONNA, who was labouring under a tedious Infirmity, did not imagine that, after the Venetians had entered into a Confederacy against the King of France, and Bourbon's Plot had been discovered, Francis would persist in his Resolution of assaulting the Dutchy of Milan this Year; and on this Supposition he had not proceeded with proper Diligence in getting together his Men, who were dispersed in several Places, nor had

A. D had he made any other necessary Preparations against such an Invasion. now on the approach of the Enemy he earnestly attended to affemble his Troops in order to dispute the passage of the Tesino, forgetful of what had happened to himself, when on a like Occafion he had endeavoured to prevent Lautrech from croffing the Adda; and thought he was so sure of Success, that he took no Care to repair the Bastions and Fences of the Suburbs of Milan, which having been totally neglected were in a ruinous Condition. He drew together his whole Force on the Ground which lies on the River between Biagrassa, Bufaloro, and Turbico, a Situation convenient for the Defence of Pavia and Milan. But the French who were at Vigevano found the Waters much lower than Prospero expected, and at Four Miles Distance began to pass the River, part of them waded, whilst others croffed in small Boats; they laid also a Bridge for the Conveniency of the Artillery, at a Place where they met with no Guard nor Obstacle. On this unforeseen Accident Prospero being obliged

to alter his whole System, sent immedi- A. D. ately Antonio da Leva with One Hundred 1523. Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Foot Antonio de Leva at to defend Pavia, and with the Remainder Paviaof the Army retired himself to Milan, Prospero where in a Council of War it was unani-retires to moufly allowed that Milan was not tenable if the French without Delay directed thither their March, because the Bastions and Fortifications of the Suburbs, having been neglected ever since the last War, lay mostly in ruins. That the Confidence with which Prospero had undertaken to defend the Passage of the Tesino, had been the Occasion that the necessary Reparations had been neglected, and that it would take up Three Days Time to put the Fortifications in a State of Defence. That they ought to take this whole Affair into their Consideration and then immediately fet about the Reparations, but at the same Time, lest the French should come upon them the First, Second, or Third Day, he prepared to retired to Como, if they marched by the Way of Pavia, or to Pavia if they came by Como.

The French lose the Opportunity of taking Milan.

But the evil Genius of the French, darkening as usual their Intellects, would not permit them the Profit of so fine an Opportunity; for either out of Negligence, or waiting till the whole Army was affembled (for a great Part was not yet come up) they continued Three days on the Tefino, and then joining together all their Forces between Milan, Pavia, and Binasco, marched to San Cristofaro a place fituated but a Mile from Milan, between the Roman and Tefin Gates. The Pioneers having cleared the Way they planted the Artillery in their Front, making believe they were moving to affault Milan but without making any further Attempt, they pitched their Camp in that Place, and after a few Days removed it to the Abbey of Chiaravalle, where they destroyed the Mills and cut the Pipes that fupplied Milan with Water, proposing to themselves a Siege rather than an Assault; for besides the vast Number of People who had taken up Arms with a fettled Averfion to the Name of the King of France, there were in Milan Eight Hundred Men

at Arms, Eight Hundred Light Horse, A. D. Four Thousand Spanish Foot, Six Thoufand Five Hundred Germans, and Three
Thousand Italians.

In the Midst of these Broils died Pope Death of Adrian on the 14th Day of September, to Adrian. the no small Detriment of the Confederates, who were deprived not only of the Pontifical Authority, but also of the Subfidies for which, by the Articles of the Treaty, he was engaged. He left behind him no great Esteem of his Abilities, either because his Reign was short, or that he had little Experience in Affairs; his Death was no way displeasing to the Courtiers, who wished to see the Papal Chair filled with an Italian, at least with a Perfon educated in their Country. Death caused some Disturbances in the ecclesiastic State, where, during his Life, some Sparks were discovered which prognosticated a future Combustion, and would then have dilated themselves if, partly by Accident and partly by Care, they had not been prevented.

THE College of Cardinals before the

64

A. D. 1523.

Alberto nor of Reggio and Rubiera.

Pio Gover- Pope's Arrival into Italy, had committed the Care of Reggio and Rubiera to Alberto Pio, who under divers Pretences and Excuses continued to keep Possession of their Castles, having taken Occasion of Adrian's little Experience, to despise his Orders. He had also agreed that, as soon as War broke out, Renzo da Ceri with a Party of Horse and a good Body of Foot should quarter at Rubiera, and from thence make Excursions, when Opportunity offered, on the Roman Road between Modena and Reggio in order to intercept the Money and Difpatches which should be transmitted to Milan from Naples, Rome, and Florence, and be at hand for undertaking any Thing of Importance when Occasion offered. But Francesco Guicciardini the Governor of those Towns, having in Time dived into the Design, had made Adri. an fenfible of the End for which Alberto accompanied his Requests with such smooth Speeches, and of the Dangers to which the ecclesiastic State on that Side would be ex-

The Hiftorian Governor of Modena and Reggio.

posed, obtained that the Pope, enraged at Alberto's Proceedings, by Threats of 1523. using Force obliged him to restore the Castles, for the Affairs of the French were not in such Forwardness as to enable him to make a Resistance. But those of the Family of the Pii having afterwards got Possession of Carpi, Prospero Colonna in order to recover it, was the Cause that Guido Rangone was taken into the Pay of the Confederates with One Hundred Men at Arms, One Hundred Light Horse, and One Thousand Foot, and that the Duke of Sella, who had enlisted One Thousand Spaniards at Rome, which were to join the rest at Milan, was ordered to stop with them at Modena.

In the mean Time Renzo da Ceri, whose Fame together with Hopes of Plunder had drawn about him great Numbers of Horse and Foot, began to make Excursions, and insest the whole Country, and unexpectedly one Night, after the Pope's Death, attempted with Two Thousand Men to take Rubiera, but the Garvison Vol. VIII.

A. D.

rison behaving gallantly, he found that Place was not to be easily taken by Storm, Tristano, a Corsican, one of his Captains of Foot, was made a Prisoner in the Assault. Renzo's Troops assembled afterwards on feveral Occasions in these Parts, and were the Cause of Undertakings of greater Moment, for after the Pope's Death the Duke of Ferrara, tired with vain Promises, so often made him of the Restoration of his Towns, and finding that by the Absolution he had procured from Adrian, it was less difficult to obtain a Pardon for what he had forcibly taken. than a Restoration of what he had lost, and having fully perfuaded himfelf of what was the univerfal Belief, that on account of the Diffentions which fince Leo's Death, had been ever encreased among the Cardinals, the Election of a new Pope would be carried to a great Length, he determined to attend to the Recovery of Reggio and Modena. Amongst the many Opportunities for accomplishing his Scheme, was offered that of conveniently joining with Renzo da Ceri, who had already.

already got together Two Hundred Horse, A. D. and above Two Thousand Foot, he therefore enlifted Three Thousand Men. and after fending Ten Thousand Ducats to Renzo, marched towards Modena, which had no other Garrison than Count Gajazzo and his Troops, which had been hired by the Confederates. Tho' the Inhabitants of Modena detested the Government of the Family d' Esté, yet as the Walls were weak, and built after the old Fashion without Bastions, the Ditches filled up, and no Sort of Reparations had been made for a long time, there feemed a Necessity for a larger Garrison, wherefore the Governor and the Count, after composing the Differences which had for some Time subsisted between them, unanimously persuaded the Spanish Foot (which after entering Tuscany, came on but flowly, and had hitherto given them various and ambiguous Answers whether they would stop at Modena or proceed forwards) and at last after many Entreaties prevailed on them to enter the Town. The Duke of Ferrara, who was arrived at Finale with Two Hundred Men at Arms, E 2 Four

A. D. Four Hundred Light Horse and Three Thousand Foot, being apprised of the Introduction of the Spaniards, was inclined to proceed no farther, but as he had no Certainty of the Fact, and hoping at least that he might by his Conjunction with Renzo obtain Reggio, and not despairing also but that fome Disorder might arise amongst the Enemies Infantry on account of their Arrears, he resolved to advance. he entertain fuch Hopes on light Grounds, for the College of Cardinals, who by the Governor had been apprifed of his imminent Danger, made no Sort of Provision, nor indeed returned any Answer to his Letters and Expresses, and it was not in his Power to content the Soldiers with the public Money, for the Day was come in which the fecond Month's Pay was due to the Spaniards, and had he been able to raise the Money he could have no Hopes of enlifting more Men, and by dividing the Soldiers between Modena and Reggio neither of these Towns would be safe, for Reggio had no Garrison, and the DifpoDisposition of the People was quite dif- A. ferent from that of the Modenese.

In this Perplexity the Governor and Count Guido, after judging it was more prudent to preserve Modena as a Town of greater Importance for its Vicinity to Bologna, more united to the ecclesiastic State, and which lay more convenient for receiving Succours and Provisions, sent Five Hundred Men to Reggio under Vincenzo Maiatto of Bologna, an Officer of Count Guido, with Orders to retire into the Citadel if the Town could not be preserved, as they had some Hopes it might, at least for some Days; they fent also some Money to the Governor Giovan Battista Smeraldo, of Parma, to enable him to get together Three Hundred Men, and they tried but in vain to prevail on the Community of Reggio to contribute a Sum for raising more Men, as they were necessary not only for the Defence of the ecclefiastic State but also for their own Security.

> WHEN E 3

A. D.

1523. WHEN the Governor of Modena found Guicciar- that without Money he could not well Speech to preserve, the Town, he assembled a good the Mode-Number of the Citizens and acquainted nese. them, that Affairs were reduced to such a Crisis, that since for want of Money the Spanish Foot could not be paid, nor other Necessaries provided, the Town must of course come into the Hands of the Duke of Ferrara which otherwife might defend itself. That there was no Method of guarding against this Calamity, if they themselves did not take upon them to prevent the present Danger, for he was well affured, that the new Pope, or the College of Cardinals would for the future effectually provide for their Defence. Hefaid there was not one prefent who had not experienced both the Government of the Duke and that of the Church. and therefore it would be Time loft to make use of Arguments and Reasonings to convince them of what they allowed. He only begged they would not make any Difficulty of lending him the Sum

he

THE WARS IN ITALY.

he now required, which was but a A. D. trifle both to each Particular, and to the 1523.

Public, in comparison to the Change of a Government under which they were happy.

This Speech being agreeable to the Audience, who were of the same Sentiments, they raised that very Day Five Hundred Ducats by a Tax laid on themselves, with which the Spaniards being paid, and other Necessaries procured, they were in no farther Danger from the Duke of Ferrara, who not laying a greater Stress on his Forces than they deferved, leaving Modena on his left, and joining Renzo in his Way, proceeded to Reggio, where he was received without Difficulty, and the next Day the Governor of the Citadel surrendered a little after the Cannon had began firing, alledging for his Excuse that Majatto whom he had fent for had refused to come to his Asfistance, and that the Money sent him by the Governor of Modena, had been seized near Parma where he was recruiting.

E 4

As

As soon as the Duke had got Possesfion of Reggio, the Admiral recalled Ren-20 da Ceri which greatly lessened the Duke's Forces, who however after lying some Days along the Secchia undertook the Siege of Rubiera, where the Count Guido had placed old da Coviano with Two Hundred Foot. The Duke had small Hopes of Success, for the Place tho' small, had strong Fortifications, the Ditches being deep and wide, and the Walls were furrounded by Ramparts of Earth, yet the next Day, as foon as the Artillery began to play against a Part of the Wall contiguous to the Gate, the Governor, either because he had so secretly agreed, or else intimidated because his Men began to be tumultous, jumped down from the Walls and presented himself to the Duke, to whom he made a tender of himself and of the Town. The Duke entered the Place, and had no fooner planted the Cannon against the Castle than the Commander whose Name was Tito Tagliaferro, a Parmefan, was fo terrified, that notwithstanding it was fufficiently fufficiently provided with Men, Artillery A. D. and all Necessaries, he surrendered without standing a single Shot. The Duke then put his Army into Quarters in Hopes that, on account of a long Vacancy of the Roman See, the Troops in Modena would disband, as also because he had farther Expectations, as will be after related.

In the mean Time Bonivette, who was encamped at San Cristofano in a Place furrounded by Waters and Ditches between the Tefin and Roman Gates, defpairing of making himself Master of Milan, after taking of Monza had fent Monf. Bayarde and Federigo da Bozzole with Three Hundred Lances and Eight Thousand Foot to Lodi, where Marquis of Mantoua, General of the Ecclesiastic and Florentine Forces, commanded, with Five Hundred Horse and the same Number of Foot; but the Marquis fearing his Person was in Danger, retired to Ponte Vico, and Lodi thus abandoned received the French. Federigo then laid a Bridge on the Adda, and croffing

croffing with the same Forces, he went in Succour of the Castle of Cremona, where the famished Garrison not having any Knowledge of the Arrival of a French Army in Italy, the very same Day the Admiral was approaching Milan, had agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the 26th Day of September. Federigo advanced to the Castle without Opposition, and after supplying it with Victuals and all Necessaries resolved to lay Siege to the Town, to which he was encouraged by the smallness of the Garrison left there by Prospero; but the Marquis of Mantoua out of Fear of what might happen, had fent thither One Hundred Men at Arms, One Hundred Light Horse, and Four Hundred Foot. Federigo finding he could not enter Cremona on the Side of the Castle on account of the strong Fortifications erected between the Castle and the Town, turned to the Right, in order to make an attack where the Wall was weakest. After opening a Breach he gave the Assault but was repulsed; then widening the Breach he entered on a second Attack, but meet-

befieged.

ing with the same ill Success, he retired to A. D. San Martino in order to wait for Renzo da Ceri, who was moved from the Reggian with Two Hundred Horse and Two Thousand Foot. On his Arrival they returned to the Walls which were battered with as great Success as could be wished, but being afterwards incommoded with vast Rains, and finding they could not, without great Hazard, obtain their Intent, they made no farther Attempt. Mercurio at the same Time, with the light Horse of the Venetians, whose Troops were asfembling at Ponte Vico, passing the Oglio, made Excursions up to their very Entrenchments. After these vain Attempts finding themselves streightned in Provifions, and Renzo's Men deferting, because they had received no other Money than what had been fent their Leader, quitting Cremona, they went and laid Siege to Sonzino, but with the same ill Success. They afterwards plun- Carradered Carravaggio, where they rested some vaggio Days; which furnished a Cause or Pre-sack. tence to the Venetians for not sending

ment, for they gave in Excuse for their Slowness in collecting their Army, the Notion which prevailed amongst the German Officers, that on account of their Separation from France, the French would not pass that Year into Italy, and that they had promised to be in Readiness only when the Troops in the Cremonese should have repassed the River Adda.

WHILST Affairs continued in this Situation each party mistrusting its Ability of putting a speedy End to the War, neither would venture on any Enterprise that might endanger the whole. The Admiral gave himself little concern in carrying on the Siege of Milan, being persuaded that the Enemy would either disband for want of Money, or quit Milan for want of Victuals, for tho' that City was fupplied with a great Quantity of Wheat, yet in so populous a Town the Mouths were innumerable, and as the Admiral had cut off the Waters to prevent the working of the Mills, they found great Difficulties

ficulties in grinding their Corn *. On A. D. these Considerations he recalled the Troops in the Ghiaradadda, and posted them between Modena and Milan, so as to prevent any Provisions coming by the Way of the Mountain of Brionza, having already taken Care to prevent their Access by the usual way of Lodi and Pavia. But all this, as will appear, was not sufficient for his obtaining the desired Effect.

PROSPERO COLONNA labouring under a grievous Infirmity, was no less uneasy in his Mind, under Expectation of the Vice-king, not brooking to be the Second in Command, wherefore desirous of exerting himself, he ordered that all Diligence might be used to cut off the Convoys of Provisions which came to the Enemy from the other Side of the Tesino, since by the Strength of their Entrenchments, it was not practicable to drive them away by Force of Arms:

And

^{*} The Want of Bread was so great that One Hundred Thousand of the Inhabitants had not a Morsel of Bread for Eight Days, whilst the new Mills were building.

A. D. And for this Purpose he proposed that the Marquis of Mantoua should enter Pavia; which rendering the Bridge of the French unsecure, they laid another at Torligo Twenty-five Miles distant from Pavia. Vitelli also earnestly sollicited that his Regiment of Florentine Men at Arms which, at the Commencement of the War, had been fent to Genoa, and afterwards in Conjunction with Three Thousand Troops in the Pay of the Genoese had reduced, excepting Alessandria, all the Country on the other Side the Po, might pass the River, and intercept those Provisions which came to the French Camp by way of the Lo-But the Doge of Genoa mellina. would not confent, because he was himfelf in Fear of the Stratagems of Fregolo who was in Alessandria, and because the Venetians, whose Troops had passed the Adda, refused to cross the Oglio whilst that Body of French that had quitted Carravaggio continued near Monza for fear of endangering Bergamo. At Prospero's Defire, Four Hundred Light Horse and Five Hundred Foot were fent to Trezzo.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

79

Neighbourhood, by cutting off their Provisions.

WHILST both Parties were thus employed no other military Actions were performed than light Skirmishes, Plunderings and Excursions, mostly to the Difadvantage, and fometimes to the confiderable Loss of the French, as for Instance, when Gio de' Medici went out to escort the Provisions which were coming from Trez-20 to Milan, with Two Hundred Men at Arms, One Hundred Light Horse, and One Thousand Foot, meeting with Eighty French Men at Arms, mostly belonging to Bernabo Visconti, first seemed to purfue them, then artfully retiring drew them into an Ambush where he had placed Five Hundred Men with Fire Arms, who without much difficulty routed Giov. de and killed or took the greatest Medici Part. In another Encounter likewise nato Vis-Zucchero Borgognone broke Sixty Men conti. at Arms of the Grand Ecueyer's Regiment. The Spaniards also often attacked and destroyed a good Number of the French

the Pioneers were at work in cutting Trenches under Cover of the Ramparts, and Pagolo Luzzasco who was in Pizzichitone with Fifty Horse, making Excursions all over the Country, greatly annoyed those who were in Cremona.

NEITHER had the Admiral any better Success in his secret Negotiations; He had privately agreed with one Morgante of Parma, a chief Officer of Giovanni de' Medici's Regiment, Giannicolo de Lanzi, and Four others, being only let into the Secret, that when he should be appointed to guard the Bastion which had a Wicket beyond the Outworks, he should introduce the French. On the Night the Plot was to be executed, Morgante imagining he had Occafion for more Confederates, discovered it to another of his Acquaintance, who feeming to approve of the Scheme, advifed him to go and in Prospero's Name order the Centinels not to stir if they should hear any Noise, that they might

be prevented from molesting the Person A. D. whom he should send to the Enemy's Camp to inform them of his being in Readiness for their Reception. Admiral had ordered One Thousand Foot that very Night to approach the Bastion, that they might be prepared to advance as foon as the Signal was given and the whole Army to be under Arms. But whilft Morgante was gone to give his Order, the other flew to Giovanni de' Medici, and discovered the whole Affair, and then seized on the Conspirators who, according to military Justice, were executed, by passing thro' the Pikes.

But the Affairs of the French now, in all Parts, seemed to decline, for the Fertility of the Country about Milan, together with the new Mills which the Besieged had erected within, lessened every Day, their Hopes of reducing the Town by Famine, and it was computed that in the many Skirmishes in the Neighbourhood of Milan, what with killed and disabled they had lost Fisteen Hun-Vol. VIII.

ful, that they durst not stir out of their Entrenchments, unless when they were under a Necessity to send out Escorts to their Provisions or Forage; and then they issued forth in great Bodies, but the Admiral made a Merit of this Disgrace, and was heard to say that he did not conduct the War like the hot-headed French Commanders, but had learned from the Italians how to act with Maturity and Moderation, yet whenever his Horse or Foot met the Enemy they shewed a greater Propensity to run away than to fight.

THE Imperial Officers being thus freed from the Fear of the Enemy, and of starving, and on the contrary in Hopes of rendering difficult the Provisions of the French, were now under no other Uneasinesses than that of the Want of Money, without which they could hardly provide for the Sustenance of those in Milan, and it would be almost impossible to escort them out of the Town, if the Occasions of the War required

Reggio

required it. To obviate this Difficulty A. D. amongst other Ways and Means, Pro-1523. Spero with the secret Consent of the Prospero's Negotia-Vice-king and Duke of Seffa, had foon tion with after the Pope's Death began to treat the Duke with the Duke of Ferrara, (who had ra. often refused the Offers made him by the Admiral for marching his Troops to affift the Siege of Cremona after he had taken Reggio) and he agreed with Prospero that as soon as he should be put in Possession of Modena through his Means, to pay him immediately Thirty Thousand Ducats, and Twenty Thoufand more in Two Months. The Affair seemed easy, for as soon as Prospero should send his Orders to Count Guido Rangoni, who was in the Service of the League, and to the Spanish Foot to quit Modena, the Inhabitants thus abandoned would submit to the Duke. Prospero was induced to take this bold Resolution not only with a View to the public Good, but to gratify also his private Friendship with Alfonso d'Este, and weaken the papal grandeur, which was a common Desire of all the Roman Barons, that when Modena and

A. D. Reggio were separated from the Church the Duke of Milan might, with greater Ease, get Possession of Parma and Piacenza.

Discovered to Guicciardini.

This Negotiation, tho' carried on with great Secrecy, came to the Knowledge of Count Rangoni who communicated it to Guicciardini. He faw immediately that the only Way to fave the Town was to persuade the Spanish Commanders, who having been used well, and receiving a large Salary, were content with their Station, to pretend that they were not under Prospero's Authority till they had joined his Army, and therefore would not depart from Modena, till they received an express Order from the Duke of Seffa, who had fent them thither. The Governor was very sensible that this Treaty had not been carried on without the Knowledge of Seffa, yet as that Duke was the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, he thought that when the College of Cardinals made their Remonstrances he would not only be ashamed to give such Orders, but at their Requests would act quite the contrary.

THE

THE Governor's Project took Effect, A. D. and Things succeeded according to his 1523. Wishes, for Count Guido and the Spaniards on receiving Prospero's Orders to The Garcome to Milan, where their Presence was Modena necessary, the Count gave several Reasons refuse to for not coming, as that he was neither a spero's Or-Subject of the Church nor a Modenese, and ders. the Spaniards instructed by him and the Governor, made Answer, that they could not flir till they were commanded by the Duke of Sella. After the Governor had informed the Cardinals of what had paffed they sent for the Duke of Sessa to appear in the Conclave, where, not being willing to render himself, and consequently Cafar, suspected, he would not deny but that he had fent his Orders to the Spanish Officers not to depart from Modena. This Discovery, as it often happens in human Affairs, produced Effects quite contrary to what had been imagined, for when certain Letters of Prospero, intercepted by the Governor, were produced in the College, by which the Progress of the whole Treaty was discovered, the Cardinals Adherents to France, by whose Opposition the ConA. D. Continuation of the Supplies of Money which by Means of the Cardinal de' Medicis had been begun to be fent to Modena was obstructed, now being of Opinion that the Success of the Plot would have been contrary to the Interest of their King, sollicited themselves to have the Money fent to that City; as did also Cardinal Colonna, that it might be thought he preferred the Advantage of the Apostolic See to any other Interest. These Measures deferred the Execution of Alfonso d'Este's Defigns, but did not prevent the Continuation of French Negotiations. They imagined it might be so managed, that the Vice-king who, with flow Marches, was coming from Naples to Milan, with Four Hundred Lances, and Two Thoufand Foot, in his Passage thro' Modena. might carry off the Spaniards.

By this Time in Milan there was no Want of Food, for the Admiral fearing the Germans in Pavia might destroy his Bridge on the Tesino, over which were brought all forts of Provisions, detached Three Thousand Foot from the Army

A. D.

at Monza which was the smallest Body, and sent them to guard the Bridge, then reinforcing his own with another Part of that Army, he distributed the rest in Marignano and Biagrassa near the Bridge whence the Imperialists, having Possession of Monza, were plentifully supplied wirh all Necessaries.

THE French Army was very strongly encamped, it confisted of Eight Hun-Descripdred Light Horse, Six Thousand Swiss, tion of the Two Thousand Italian Foot, and Ten Army. Thousand between French and Gascons, and extended from the Abbey of Charavalle as far as the Road to Pavia, and from thence for the Space of a Cannon Shot towards Milan; they had at the Bridge of the Tesino One Thousand Germans, and One Thousand Italians, and the same Number at Biagrassa, where Renzo da Ceri was placed. In Novara they had Two Hundred Lances, and Two Thousand Foot between Alessandria and Lodi.

F 4

IN

A. D. 1523.

Imperial Forces in Milan.

In Milan there were Eight Hundred Lances, Eight Hundred Light Horse, Five Thousand Spaniards, Six Thousand Germans, and Four Thousand Italian Foot, besides the Multitude of armed Inhabitants, who in Heart and Hand were ready to encounter the French. The Marquis of Mantoua was in Pavia with Five Hundred Lances, Six Hundred Light Horse, Two Thousand Spanish Foot, and Three Thousand Italians; Vitelli at Castel Nuovo in the Tortonese with Three Thoufand Foot, tho' a little after he retired to Seravalle, being apprehensive that a Body of French who were gone towards Alessandria might intercept his Return to Genoa. The Venetians had Six Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, but of these last One Thousand were sent to Milan at the Request of Prospero, who prided himfelf on having it known that he was affisted by the Venetians, and a little after on some Suspicion of a Plot, another Body of them were fent to Cremona.

1523.

THE Admiral at last pressed by the Diffi. culty in procuring Provisions, the extream propose a Coldness of the Season, the deep Snows, Truce. and the Grumbling of the Swiss, who protested they would bear no longer so many Inconveniencies, resolved to decamp from Milan, but before he made known this Re-Solution, at his Request Galeazzo Visconti asked Leave to make a Visit in Milan to Madonna Chiara, who was no less famous for her extraordinary Beauty than for having entirely captivated the Heart of Prospero Colonna. As soon as Galeazzo entered Milan he made Proposals for a Truce, which were readily hearkened to, and the next Day near the Fortifications, Alarcone, Pagolo Vettori the Florentine Commiffary, and Girolamo Morone had a Meeting with Galeazzo Visconti, and the General of Normandy on the Part of the Admiral, who proposed a Suspension of Arms for all the following Month of May, and to quarter their Army in the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and would at least have consented to reduce all their Forces beyond the Tesino. But the

German

A. D. German Officers, vexed that their Hopes of Victory should be interrupted by a Truce, refused to agree to any Terms without the Approbation of the Vice-king, wherefore the Admiral two Days after, before Break of Day ordered the Artillery to be carried to treat from the Banks of the Tesino, which, as soon as Milan. it was light, was followed by the whole Army, but in fuch Order, as to appear ready to fight if they were attacked. When the Retreat was discovered in the Town, not only the common Soldiers. and Citizens cried out loudly to be conducted to pursue them, but also the chief Officers, and those of the greater Authority made the same Instances to Prospero Colonna, laying before him the Facility of the Victory, for they reckoned themselves not inferior to the Enemy, and thought they should fight with much more Courage; for a Retreat must of Necessity put a Damp on most of their Spirits, which indeed was confirmed by feveral Italians who had just then deferted from them. They reminded him of the infinite Glory he would acquire, and how his Name

would be perpetuated to the latest Posterity

if

if he added to the Merit of his past Victo- A. D. ries the Glory and Triumph which he 1523. had now in his Power to gain. was Prospero's stated Maxim to avoid as much as possible to put himself in the Power of Fortune, wherefore, as immovable as the most solid Fabric against all the Efforts of blowing Winds, he made Anfwer, that it did not become a wise General to regulate his Conduct by popular Clamours, or lead out his Men against an Army whose Preservation depended on a desperate Desence, that he had already conquered and acquired fufficient Glory, by obliging the Enemy to retire without Danger; or Effusion of Blood. That Men ought to limit their Desires, for any one might discern that, following their Counsel, if they miscarried the Loss would prove without Comparison much greater than the Advantage if they came off with Success. That by conducting himself with such Principles, he had always come off with Honour in whatever he undertook. the Reproach of Rashness is more injurious

A. D. rious to Generals, than the Glory of a Victory is advantageous, for in the first Case the Blame falls solely and intirely on the General, whereas the Praise of Victory, at least, according to the Opinion of Mankind, is communicated amongst many. That now when he was so near his End he would not sollow new Counsels, and abandon those which in the whole Course of his Life had procured him Glory, Profit, and Grandeur.

Negotiation concerning the Election of 2 new Pope.

The French divided their Army in Two Bodies, the Admiral with the greatest Part stopped at Bragrassa and ordered the Remainder to Rosa, the first Place being distant Fourteen, the other Seven Miles from Milan. But a sew Days after the Admiral was removed from Milan, a new Pope was created, after the Cardinals had been Fifty Days in the Conclave, which was opened with Thirty-six Cardinals, and Three others came in aster. They wasted all this Time in making divers Conventions, being divided into Parties, not only on account of their

dif-

different Attachments to Cafar and the A. D. King of France, but also on account of, 1523. the Grandeur of the Cardinal de' Medici, who, tho' opposed by all those who were in the French Interest, and by some of Cæsar's Adherents, yet had found Means to secure for himself the Votes of Sixteen Cardinals, who were determined to chuse him, or no other without his Consent. He had also the secret Promise of Five more which he procured by his own Interoft, and was besides particularly distinguished by the Ambassador of Cæsar and all those who depended on his Authority. Tho' he had almost the same Interest at the Death of Pope Leo, yet he now entered the Conclave with a more firm Refolution, neither for Length of Time, or any other Accident to give up his Hopes, principally founded on the Necessity of a Concurrence of Two Thirds of the present Cardinals, in the Election of a Pontiff. Nor would he be removed from his Resolution by the common Danger of Italy, or the State of the Church in particular. As the Progress of the War varied, each Party endeavoured to protract

A. D. the Election, in Hopes that whoever got the Victory would bestow Favours on his Adherents. And the Election would have been carried on to a much greater Length if all those who were averse to Cardinal de' Medici, and who were mostly the oldest of the College, had been as united in the Choice of any other as they were in opposing him, and setting aside their private Views, had been only unanimous in excluding Cardinal de' Medici. Cardinal Colonna was a Man of a hasty and very proud Temper, and Cardinal de' Medici's bitter Enemy, but being dissatisfied with the Cardinals of his Party, because he could not prevail on them to chuse Cardinal Jacovaccio a Roman of his Faction, and who had a great Dependance on him, he went of his own Accord to Cardinal de' Medici, offering him all his Interest for his Election. Medici gave him instantly a Bond under his hand by which he engaged to make him Chancellor, which Post he then occupied himself, and make him a Present of his most sumptuous Palace, built by Cardinal San Giorgio. and given him by Pope Leo. overjoyed

overjoyed at these Concessions, brought A. D. over Cardinal Cornaro and Two more; as foon as this Change was known feveral others, as usually happens in Conclaves, carried away by Meanness of Spirit or Ambition, strove not to be the last in offering their Service, by which means that very Night the Cardinal de' Medici was unani-Cardinal de' Medici moully adored as Pontiff, and the next created Morning the 19th of November, was Pope. elected, according to Form, with the usual solemn Scrutiny, that Day Two Years on which he had entered triumphantly into Milan. It was believed that the vast Number of Benefices and ecclesiaftical Posts of which he was in Possession facilitated his Election, for when the Cardinals came into the Conclave they unanimously signed a Convention, by which all the ecclesiastical Revenues of the Person elected, should be equally divided amongst the rest of the College. He intended to retain the Name of Julius, but being told by some Cardinals that it had been obferved, that those who after their Election had not changed their Names, had died the Name within the Year, he assumed the Name of Clement Clement

A. D. Clement VII. either because the Festival of that Saint was near, or alluding to his having after his Election forgiven and taken into Favour the Cardinal of Volterra with all his Adherents, notwithstanding that Adrian, when he was drawing near his End, had declared that Cardinal incapable of assisting at the Conclave, and tho' after he was admitted by the College, he had obstinately stood out to the very last against the Election of Julius.

IT is certain that the new Pope was in the highest Reputation in all Parts, and the Delay made in his Election, greater than had been for a long time, feemed to be recompensed by the vast Authority and Worth of the Person who was seated in the Chair, because he united the Sovereign Power he had in Florence, to the extensive Power of the Church, because he had for so many Years under Leo exercised in a manner the whole Power of the Pontificate; because he was reputed to be a Person of Gravity and firm to his Refolutions, and because several Actions which proceeded from Leo, being attributed

buted to him, every one pronounced him A. D. to be a Person full of Ambition, of a great and turbulent Spirit, passionately defirous of Novelties, to which may be added that he was no ways addicted to Diversions, and as it was known that he had applied himself seriously to Business, every one expected very grand and extraordinary Atchievements. His Election at once restored absolute Security to the State of the Church, for the Duke of Ferrara, terrified at the Election of so resolute a Person. and giving over all Hopes of obtaining Modena by the coming of the Viceroy of Naples, and trusting still less to the French Messengers, who by Means of Teodoro Trivulzi came to make him vast Offers if he would enter into their Alliance, after leaving sufficient Garrisons in Reggio and Rubiera, returned to Ferrara. The Affairs in Romagna were also quieted. where Giovanni da Sassatella, who, in the Life of Adrian, had been driven away by the Ghibellines, fince his Death, at the Head of a good Number of Guelfs, was Vol. VIII. G

A. D. returned into that Country under the 1523. Pretext of distressing the opposite Faction, but in reality by the Encouragement of the French.

But as foon as the French Army was disposed between Biagrassa and Rosa, the Admiral, retaining only Four thousand Swiss, disbanded the Troops of Dauphine and the Languedoc Foot as useless, and sent the heavy Artillery on the other Side the Tesino, determining to wait in his Camp for the Supplies that were getting ready in France, not being in the least apprehenfive of being forced, and having Provifions in Plenty. But not to be idle he ordered Renzo, with Seven Thousand Italians, to beliege Arona, a strong Place on the Borders of the Lago Maggiore, in the Possession of Anchise Visconti; but Prospero Colonna sent a Succour of Twelve Hundred Foot to reinforce it. The Castle of Arona commands the Town. which, on that account, is of no Use to any one without the Castle. Renzo therefore laid Siege to the Castle, but after giving several Assaults to no Purpose, for almost a Month

Arona besieged Month together, with the Loss of many A. D. of his Men, he broke up the Siege, confirming the Opinion that had been some time since entertained of him by the Italians, that none of his Actions, since the Siege of Crema, had been answerable to his Defence of that Town.

PROSPERO was all this while drawing Death of near his End, having been for Eight Colonna. Months in a languishing Condition, not without some Suspicion of Poison, or a Love Potion. He had once been jealous of the Arrival of the Viceroy, but now finding himself unable to carry on the Business of the War, was very follicitous for his Coming. The Viceroy at last arrived, but when he approached Milan, would not for several Days enter the Town, out of Respect and Regard to the Merits and Reputation of so famous a General; but when he heard he was at the last Extremity and delirious, he would not lose the Satisfaction of having the Sight of so great a Man, and came to his Bedfide a few Hours before his Death; tho' fome have afferted that he did not enter Milan before he ex-G 2 pired,

pired, which was on the last Day but A. D. one of the Year. He was no doubt reputed a famous General, and his Reputation and Authority were very much racter. increased in his latter Days. By a long Experience he made himself a perfect Master of the military Art, yet he was not quick in embracing the Opportunities which were offered him from the Diforders and Weakness of his Adversaries; but by fuch Proceedings, he gave also little Opportunity to the Enemy for distressing him. He was naturally very flow in his Undertakings, and may defervedly be called the Cunctator *. But the World is justly indebted to Prospero for teaching how to carry on a War more effectually with Counsel than with the Prospero's new Way Sword, and the Art of defending States of making without running the Risque of a Battle War. without Necessity. In our Days the Manner of making War has undergone several Variations; for, before the Expedition of The old Charles VIII. into Italy, the Strength of Way.

* This Title of Cunctator, which fignifies the Delayer, was given to Fabius Maximus when he obstructed Hannibal's Progress in Italy by avoiding an Action.

an Army consisted more of Horse in A. D. heavy Armour than in Foot. The Instruments for battering Towns were extreamly inconvenient for Carriage, and unhandy when put to Use: Battles were often given, yet the Slaughter was not confiderable, and little Blood was spilt. When any Town was befieged, tho' never fo fmall or weak, it would hold out for several Days against a strong Army, not so much thro' the Skill of the Befieged as from the Unskilfulness of the Besiegers, which rendered it very difficult for any Prince to get Possession of his Neighbour's State. But fince the Arrival of Charles in Italy the Terror of Foreigners, the Ferocity of a differently disciplined Infantry, and above all the Execution of the Artillery, have filled the Minds of the Italians with Terror, and convinced them that there was no Hopes of defending themselves without keeping the Field; for the Men in Garrisons, quite ignorant how to defend the Towns, gave them up at the first Approach of the Enemy, and if any had the Courage to refift, in a few Days they were not able to stand the G 3 Affault.

A. D. Assault. Thus the Kingdom of Naples, and the Dutchy of Milan were attacked and taken, as one may fay, the same Day. Thus the Venetians, after the Loss of one Battle, immediately abandoned all their Terra Firma. In-the same manner the French, at the very Sight of the Enemy, deserted the Dutchy of Milan. Mankind, terrified at the easy Loss of their Towns by these destructive Instruments, applied all their Wits and Art to find out Methods of Defence, and with such Success that they have fortified even their smallest Towns with Ramparts, Ditches, Flanks, Outworks, and Bastions, whence being affisted by a numerous Artillery, which does more Execution in the Defence than in the Siege of Places, the Towns are rendered secure, it being a very hard matter to take a Town fortified in such a Manner. The Recovery of Otranto from the Turks in our Forefathers Times, gave us perhaps the first Notions of fuch Sort of Fortifications; for Alfonso Duke of Calabria, on entering that Town, found that the Ottomans had made feveral Works unknown to the Italians,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 103

Italians, but the Memory of them had A. D. been only retained, for they were never 1523. put in Practice. Prospero by these Arts, much to his Honour, twice defended the Dutchy of Milan, he being the only or the chief Person who used them both defensively and offensively; for by cutting off his Enemy's Provisions, and prolonging the War, he confumed them with Weariness, Length of Time, Poverty and Disorders. In this manner he both defended himfelf and conquered without fighting, and even without drawing a Sword, or breaking a fingle Lance. His Example has been fince followed, and many Wars, that had lasted for feveral Months, have been terminated more by Industry and good Management, and making a proper Use of all Advantages, than by Battles.

Year 1523 in Italy, and the same Year there were great Expectations from the Preparations that were making beyond the Mountains, which produced Effects not worthy of such great Princes, for G 4 Cæsar

A. D. Casar and the King of England had agreed with the Duke of Bourbon, that they would with mighty Armies make an Irruption, one into Picardy, the other into Guyenne; but the Motions of the King of England in Picardy were to little Purpose, and the Attempt of Bourbon in Burgundy foon came to nothing; for not being able to pay his German Foot, some of the Officers agreed with the King of France, and withdrew Part of their Troops, and Bourbon despairing of Success in France went to Milan, where Casar not liking he should go to Spain, lest perhaps he should perfect the Matrimony, which he did not defire should take place, fent him by Buren the Title of his Lieutenant General in Italy, defiring him to continue there. Nor did Cæsar's Affairs on the Side of Spain proceed according to his Wishes; for tho' follicitous for the War he was arrived at Pampelona, in order to enter France in Person, and had already sent the Army beyond the Pyrenean Mountains, which had taken Sauterre, not far distant from St. Jean du Pied de Port, yet his Power

Spaniards invade France.

A. D not being equal to his Eagerness, for want of Money he could not sublist fuch a Number of Forces as was necessary for so great an Undertaking; nor had he been able on the fame account to affemble his Army, till towards the latter End of the Year: and the Coldness of the Seafon with the Scarcity of Provisions, that could not be eafily conveyed at fuch a Distance, were additional Difficulties. which at last obliged him to disband this Spanish Army dis-Army, which had been affembled against banded. the Advice of almost all his Council. And Federigo of Toledo, Duke of Alva, a Nobleman of great Age and Authority, did not scruple saying in the Heat of the War, that Charles in many Things refembled Ferdinando, his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, but in this Expedition he acted more like Maximilian, his Grandfather by the Father's Side.

WE are now entering on the Year 1524, in the Beginning of which Cæsar's Commanders, taking Advantage of the Distress of the French, hoped they should be able

15243

106

A. D. able to put an End to the War: For this Purpose they sent for the Duke of Urbino, and Pietro da Pesaro, the Venetian Proveditor, to come to Milan, in order to confult on the future Operations: When it was unanimously resolved that as foon as the Six thousand Germans which the Viceroy had ordered to be enlisted, were arrived at Milan, the Imperial and Venetian Army should jointly approach the Enemy, and expel them from that State with Sword or Famine. As they were perfuaded they had a fufficient Force to compass this Design, there remained no other Obstacle than the Difficulty of raifing Money; for as the Soldiery were greatly in Arrears, there was of Money no Hopes of making them march out of in the Imperial Ar- Milan, or the other Towns, till they were paid; nor was it less necessary, while the

> Army kept the Field, to make Provision for the ordinary Course of Payments. To remove these Difficulties in part, the Milanese, being heartily tired of the War, raised Ninety Thousand Ducats amongst themselves, and lent them chearfully to the

Scarcity my.

Duke

A. D.

Duke, whose Punctuality had already A. D. 1524. been experienced, when he repaid them out of his Treasury the Sums they had advanced when Lautrech lay before Milan. The Pope also at this Juncture gave a helping Hand; for, dreading by what had past, the Effects of a French Victory, unknown to the Messengers sent by the King of France, to whom he pretended the contrary, he very privately gave Cæsar's Ambassadors Thirty Thousand Ducats, and insisted that the Florentines, of whom the Viceroy demanded a fresh Contribution, by Virtue of the Confederacy made in Adrian's Time, should pay Thirty Thousand Ducats in full of all Demands. Not that the Pope had any Intention to shew for the future any Partiality to either of the contending Parties: On the contrary, his Impartiality was plainly feen; for when Cæfar and the King, on his Assumption to the Clement is Pontificate, fent him, one Buren, and the fland neuother San Massan, to engage him in their ter be-Interest, he hearkened to neither, but Emperor resolved, as soon as the present Disturbances King of were composed, to proceed with that Mo-France.

deration

1524.

deration in Differences between Christian Princes as was proper for a Roman Pontiff, and, without shewing any particular Propensity to either, use his utmost Endeavours to dispose them to Peace. This Behaviour was at that Time agreeable to the King of France, who feared that Clement entertained the same ill Disposition towards him now he was Pope, as he had when Cardinal; Calar on the contrary was displeased, thinking his past Friendship, and, fince Leo's Death, the Interest he had given him for his Election, ought to have induced him not to separate from him; wherefore he took it very ill when it was fignified to him, on the Part of the Pontiff, that tho' he had not divested himself of the Benevolence which he had hitherto entertained for him, yet fince he had now laid aside the private Person, and was become a common Father, he was in Duty bound for the future to dispense common Duties.

But whilst the Viceroy was getting himself in Readiness to march against the Enemy, he sent Giovanni de' Medici to besiege

beliege Marignano, which together with A. D. the Castle surrendered; and a few Days 1524. after the Marquis of Pescara, who, not being disposed to serve under Prospero Colonna, did not come to the Army till that General was at the last Extremity, being informed that Bayard was posted in Rebecco with Three Hundred Light Horse, and a good Body of Foot, in conjunction with Giovanni de' Medici, he Marignafuddenly attacked them, and took most Marquis of their Men, with their Horses, and dis-of Pescara perfed and put to Flight the rest; then Party at with all Speed he retired to Milan, that he Rebecco. might not give Time for those in Biagrassa to pursue him. His Industry and Valour were much cried up on this Occasion, but much more his Speed; for Rebecco is but Two Miles distant from Biagrassa, but is Seventeen from Milan, from whence he had fet out.

THE State of the War was now reduced to this Point, that the Hopes of the French confisted in their Enemy's Want of Money, and those of the Imperialists in their Adversary's Want of Provisions,

Provisions, for they could not think of A. D. dislodging them by Force from their very strong Camp of Biagrassa; yet both Parties expected Succours, these of German Foot, and the other of Swiss and other Foot. The Admiral fet Fire to the Town of Rosa, and withdrew the Garrifon to Biagrassa, and to annoy the Enemy made Excursions all over the Country, burning and destroying every Thing before him. But the German Foot being at last arrived, the Imperial Army confisting of fixteen Hundred Men at Arms, fifteen Hundred Light Horse, seven Thousand Spaniards, twelve Thousand Germans, and fifteen Hundred Italians, with the Duke of Milan, the Duke of Bourbon, the Viceroy and the Marquis of Pescara at their Head, after Four Thousand Foot had been left to guard Milan, went and encamped at Venasco, where a few Days after the Duke of Urbino joined them with Six Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred Light Horse, and Six Thousand Venetian Foot. Castle of Cremona, in the mean Time, Caftle of not being able to hold out

longer for Want of Food, and Federigo

Imperial Army marches to Venasco.

Cremona

furrenders.

da

da Bozzole having in vain attempted to A. D. relieve it, surrendered to the Imperialists. 1524. After this the Cafarean Army marched to Casera Five Miles distant from Bia-Descripgrassa, where the Admiral, after distri- French buting Two Hundred Lances and Five Army. Thousand Foot between Lodi, Novara, and Alessandria, had posted himself with Eight Hundred Lances, Eight Thoufand Swifs, which a few Days after were increased with Three Thousand more, Four Thousand Italian, and Two Thousand German Foot, and having as yet fufficient Quantity of Provisions in the Army and neighbouring Towns for Two Months, it was impossible to attack him in his strong Entrenchments without the utmost Hazard. Wherefore the Imperialists had very often attempted to pass the Tesino, in order to take those Towns which supplied the Enemy with Necessaries on that Side, and prevent what Succours might come from France from joining the Army, but were always fearful that fuch a Step might endanger Milan, till at last, consi-

dering the Confidence they might repose A. D. in the People of that City, they thought a very large Garrison was not necessary, and therefore came to a Resolution of passing that River, and the Dake with Giovanni de' Medici returned to Milan. where the Garrison now consisted of Six Thousand Foot. On the Second Day of March the Army passed the Tesino, near Pavia, over Three Bridges, the main Body quartered at Gambalo, and the Remainder were distributed in the neighbouring Villages. On occasion of this Passage the Admiral, to fecure Vigevano, fent thither immediately Renzo da Ceri, and Five Days after fearing he should lose that Town, and the rest of the Lomellina, which if taken would leave him in a manner besieged, decamped with his whole Army, leaving One Hundred Horse and One Thousand Foot at Biagrassa. placed his Van-guard before Vigevano, and the main Body at Mortara, Two Miles from Gambalo, where the Viceroy was posted; he was very safe in this Situation, had Plenty of Provisions, and a secure Communication with the Monferrato, Vercelli.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

113

Vercelli, and Novara, and the Places A. D. being near many others, all Necessaries passed from Town to Town with as much Ease as it they were under a Convoy.

THE Admiral for two Days successively offered Battle to the Enemy, who, tho' sensible of their superior Numbers, and Valour of their Men, refused to fight, not being willing to put to Chance their almost certain Hopes of Victory, for by some intercepted Letters they were informed the Enemy began to want Money.

AFTER the Imperial Army had passed the Tesino, the Duke of Urbino with the Venetian Troops laid Siege to Garlasco, a Town strongly situated, and well fortisied with Ditches and Ramparts, and garrisoned by Four Hundred Italian Foot, which lying on the other Side of the Tesino, between Pavia and Trumello, where he had designed to encamp, intercepted the Access of Provisions, not only to him, but to all the rest of the Army. On his Arrival he raised a Bat-Vol. VIII.

A. D. tery, and gave, the same Day, the As1524. Sault, in which being repulsed, many
of his Men, and some of those of Giovanni
de' Medici, passed the Ditches up to their
Necks in Water, and made so vigorous
an Attack, that they forced their Way
into the Town with great Slaughter of
the Enemy.

THE Imperial Army moved afterwards to San Giorgio near Pieve al Carro, with an Intent of laying Siege to Sartirano, fituated on the Side of the Po, a strong Town which lay convenient for preventing Provisions going to the French. The Care of this Place was committed to Ugo Pepoli, and Giovanni Birago; it had in Garrison some Horse and Six Hundred Foot; but Giovanni d' Urbino, arriving with some Artillery and Two Thousand Spaniards, took first the Town and then the Fort, putting the common Soldiers to the Sword, and making the Officers Prisoners. The French were on their March to succour Sartirano, but were prevented by the Speed of the Enemy, and on hearing on the Road what

what had happened, they stopped with A. D. their whole Army at Monza. Neither had the French better Success in other Parts of the Dutchy; for the Garrison of Milan forced the Town of San Giorgio, that lay beyond Monza, from whence those of Biagrassa were supplied with Provisions, to surrender. Vitelli recovered Stradella, where the Inhabitants had fent for the French quartered in Lodi, on account of the ill Usage they received from the German Pagolo Luzzasco meeting a Garrison. strong Body of French Horse put them to Flight; and Federigo da Bozzole having fet out from Lodi to make an Attempt on Pizzichitone returned with Shame instead of Victory, being repulsed after many of his Men had been killed and many wounded. The only Advantage they obtained was the intercepting of Fourteen Thousand Ducats sent to the Army by Cæsar, which were seized in an Excursion between Piacenza and Tortona.

A. D. 1524.

In the Midst of these Difficulties, two Things kept up the Admiral's Spirits, one his Hopes of a Diversion, the other of a speedy Succour, for the King had fent, by the Mountain of Mongineura, Four Hundred Lances, which were to be joined by Ten Thousand Swiss, and Renzo da Ceri was conducting Five Thousand new enlisted Grisons, by the Way of Val di Saffina into the Territory of Bergamo, whence they were to proceed to join Federigo da Bozzole who had with him a good Number of. Italian Foot. The Admiral expected that the Imperialists on their Arrival would be obliged to repass the Tesino, for the Security of Milan. The Duke of Milan sent Giovanni de' Medici against those Forces, with Fifty Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horse, and Three Thoufand Foot, who joining Three Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot of the Venetians, approached the Enemy who was at Cravina, a Country Seat between the Rivers Adda and Brembo. Eight

THE WARS IN ITALY.

II7

Eight Miles distant from Bergamo, and A. D. with Part of his Men made Excursions to their very Camp. But the Swiss, the Third Day after their Arrival, complaining that in Gravina they had neither found Money nor Horse, nor another Body of Foot, as they had been promised by Renzo, returned into their own Country.

AFTER the Swift had broke up, Giov. de' Medici took Caravaggio, and then passing the Adda with the Artillery destroyed the Bridge of the French at Bufaloro on the Tesino. Biagrassa was now the only Place remaining in Possession of the French between Milan and the Tesino, it was well stored with Provifions, and had a Garrison of One Thoufand Foot under Girolamo Caracciolo a Neapolitan. This Town being fituated on the great Canal, was of great Hindrance to the Provisions which were usually fent that Way to Milan. The Duke took with him to this Siege Giovanni de' Medici, and was accompanied by all the Milanese Youth as well as Soldiery, and H 3 having

A. D. having battered the Walls from Sunrife till Noon, the Town was taken that very Day, to the great Honour of Giov. de' Medici, who on this Occasion gave Marks not only of a superior Valour, but acted with as much Prudence and Authority as could be expected from any great General. Caracciolo was taken Prisoner, many of the Garrison were killed in the Action, and Medici ordered several who had deserted from him to be hanged. As foon as the Town was taken those in the Castle capitulated, and surrendered on a Promise of Safety for their Persons. This Victory was joyful News for the Inhabitants of Milan, but their Misfortune, without Comparison, exceeded their Joy. For the Plague that had begun in Biagrassa, by means of Goods carried away in the Plunder was transported to Milan, and a pestilential Contagion being spread, it made such a Havock, that in . Milan only Fifty Thousand Persons were carried off.

A. D.

THE Whole of the War was now centered on the other Side the Tefino, where the Admiral after the Loss of Sartirano. on a new Approach of the Imperialists, abandoned Mortara, and in Two Marches arrived at Novara with his Army greatly diminished, for many of his Foot and of his Lances also had filed off and were returned to France, so that he had no other Measures to take than to gain Time, till he could be joined by Eight Thousand Swiss, who were arrived in the Neighbourhood of Jurea. On the other Hand the Imperialists, intent on preventing this Succour, and reducing the Enemy into Difficulties by cutting off their Provisions, possessed themselves of the Villages round Novara, putting to the Sword the French who had been left to guard them, and after placing a Garrison in Vercelli to prevent the Swiss from entering that Town, posted themselves at Biandra, Place between Vercelli and Novara, where their Camp was furrounded by Ditches, Trees and Waters. At last the Admiral being informed that the H 4 Swifs

A. D. Swiss were moved from Jurea, and had halted at the River Slefia, which they had not been able to pass on account of the Height of the Waters, and being desirous to join them, in order, as it was thought, to make a fecure Retreat, quitted Novara, and went and encamped on the same River; where being in Want of Provisions, and his Men daily deferting, he ordered a Bridge to be laid between Romagnana and Gattinara, whilst the Enemy from Biandra had marched to Briona, and from thence formed their Camp within two Miles of Romagnana. The French thus strengthened passed the River the Day following, and if the Enemy had narrowly watched their Motions, it was thought they might have obtained that Day a compleat Victory. But their Generals differed in their Counsels, some being defirous to fight, others to let them depart unmolested. Nor indeed did military Affairs in the Imperial Army feem to be conducted with proper Care and Attention. The Marquis of Pescara was the fole Person who, for a constant Steadiness in all his Actions, seemed worthy of being entrusted

A. D. entrusted with the supreme Power; but the other Commanders, envious of his 1524. Merit and Glory, fought rather to obfcure his Fame by despising and contradicting his Counsels, than to augment his Credit by concurring with him. It was late in the Day when the News of the Departure of the French reached the Imperial Camp; but as foon as it was known many Light Horse, and many Foot in a diforderly manner, without Colours, waded the River, and followed them, and coming up to their Rear, began to skirmish; the French fighting and marching forwards sustained them for a long Time, yet at last they left behind Seven Pieces of Artillery and a very great Quantity of Ammunicion and Provisions, besides Part of the Baggage of the Horse and Foot, and had many of their Men killed in fighting. They made a Feint as if they intended to lodge at Gattinara, a Mile distant from Romagnana, and at the same Time fecretly fent forward their Baggage and Artillery. But as foon as the Enemy, imagining they had taken up their Quarters at Gattinara, had begun to retire, they

A. D. marched on Six Miles farther to Ravifingo which lies towards Jurea. The Imperialists lodged quietly the same Night on the River, but passed it as soon as the Moon began to shine, though not followed by the Venetians, who being entered into the Territory of the Duke of Savoy, thought they had already exceeded the Obligation of their Confederacy, by which they were only engaged to defend the Dutchy of Milan. The French proceeded with a flow March, and in very good Order, and having placed the Swiss in the Rear, they repulsed the first Horse and Foot that overtook and attacked them in a disorderly manner Two Miles beyond Ravisingo. On the Arrival of the Marquis of Pescara the Fight was renewed, but not in fuch a Manner as to stop the March of the French, who in this last Skirmish lost Giovanni Gabaneo, and Mons. de Bayard, who having received a Musquet Shot was made Prisoner, and died soon after of his Wound. The Marquis, tho' by this time he had been joined by a good Number of his Men, did not think it proper to continue the Pursuit without the

the Assistance of the whole Army and A. D. the Artillery; and thus both French and 1524. Swiss without farther Molestation returned to their own Habitations, after leaving at Bauri, beyond Jurea, Fifteen Pieces of Artillery to the Care of Three Hundred Swifs, and one of the Lords of that Country; but this did not secure them, for the Imperial Generals on Notice given fent and seized them: The conquering Army was afterwards divided into feveral Bodies. The Duke of Urbino was ordered to Lodi, the Marquis of Pescara to Alessandria; those two Cities only remaining in Possession of the French, for Novara, on the Approach of the Duke of Milan and Giovanni de' Medici, had surrendered. The Viceroy undertook to march against Rotellino, who with Four Hundred Lances had passed the Mountains; but he, on hearing of the Admiral's Retreat, returned immediately into France. Nor did Boissi and Giulio da Sanseverino, to whose Care the Defence of Alessandria was committed, make any Refistance: And Federigo, after obtaining a few Days time to certify himself of the Admiral's Departure, gave

as had been permitted to those in Alessandria, and these Troops, which in both Cities amounted to about Five Thousand Men, were afterwards of signal Service to the King of France.

THUS ended the War against the Dutchy of Milan, under the Direction of the Admiral; by which the Power of the King of France receiving no Diminution, and the Roots of Evils not being extirpated, but only covered, new Calamities were expected to arise; for tho' Italy was freed from its present Disasters. it was not free from Jealousies of their being renewed. Cæsar however, at the Persuasion of the Duke of Bourbon, and invited by the Hopes that his Authority would be of very great Moment, attempted to transfer the Seat of the War into France, in concert with the King of England.

In the Beginning of this year he laid Siege to Fonterabia, a very small Town on the Frontiers of Spain and France; and tho' it was plentifully provided with military Stores, Victuals and Men, who had sufficient Notice to repair the old and raise new Fortifications, yet for want of Experience they made them with so little Skill, that finding themselves exposed to the Fire of the Enemy, they were soon obliged to capitulate, and surrendered on Condition of Sasety for their Persons.

AFTER the Recovery of Fonterabia, The Pope Cæsar formed greater Projects, and there-follicits a Peace. fore paid little regard to the Persuasions and Authority of the Pope, who in the Beginning of this Year had sent to him and to the Kings of England and France, to sollicit them to enter into a Treaty of Peace, or at least agree to a Suspension of Arms, but with little Hopes of Success. The King of France, not expecting to obtain a Peace answerable to his Wishes, was desirous of a Two Years Truce; whilst

Cæsar,

1. D. Cæsar, despising a Truce, which would only give Time to the King to be better prepared for a new War, wanted Peace, and any Sort of Convention made by the Pope was difagreeable to the King of England, from a Defire he had entertained of being constituted the sole Mediator, to which he was perfuaded by the ambitious counsels of the Cardinal of York. This Man, tho' of a Cardinal Wolfey. very low Extraction and despicable Blood, found means to gain such an Ascendant over that Prince, as to make it evidently appear to every one that the King's Orders, without his Approbation, were of no Significancy; and on the contrary, whatever Orders he issued, even without the King's Knowledge, were punctually executed. But the King and the Cardinal at this Juncture diffembled with Cafar, and seemed ardently desirous of making War against France, to which King-

Pretensi- dom Henry pretended for various Reasons, ons of the to have a Right, grounding his first Claim English. Sovereigns from the time of Edward III. King of to the England. This Edward, after the Death of France. of Charles IV. King of France, surnamed

the

the Fair, who in 1328 died without A. D. Issue Male, being born of a Sister of 1524. Charles, made Instances to be declared King of France, as the nearest Male a-kin to the deceased King. But he was excluded in a general Parliament of France, which decreed that, according to the Salic Law, which was a very antient Law of that Kingdom, not only Females but all Descendants of the female Line were excluded from the Succession. But Edward, foon after taking upon him the Title of King of France, entered that Kingdom with a powerful Army, and obtained several Victories both over Philip de Valois, who by general Confent had been declared Successor to Charles the Fair. and over John his Son, whom he took in a Battle, and carried Prisoner into England. After some Time he made a Peace with John, who yielding to him several Provinces and States in the Kingdom of France, Edward renounced the Royal Title of that Kingdom. But the Articles of this Peace not being long complied with, feveral Wars and lasting Truces enfued, till Henry V. of England, entering

A. D. ing into an Alliance with Philip Duke of Burgundy, who was fallen out with the Crown of France on account of the Murder of his Father Duke John, was fo successful against Charles the VI. a Lunatic, that he made himself Master of almost the whole Kingdom, with Paris its Capital, where meeting with the King and Queen, he married their Daughter Catherine, prevailing on the distracted Sovereign to agree that, notwithstanding his Son Charles was living, the Kingdom after his own Death should be transferred to Catherine and her Children. By Virtue of this invalid and unreasonable Title, after Henry's Death, his Son Henry VI. was folemnly crowned King of France and England in Paris. But Charles, after his Father's Death called Charles VII. taking Advantage of the bloody Wars which were afterwards kindled in England amongst the Princes of the Royal Blood, expelled the English out of all their Conquests in France, excepting Calais, and fent them on the other Side of the Ocean : Yet the Kings of England have continued to retain the Title of King of

of France. These Reasons were suffici- A. D. ent to excite Henry VIII. to a War, who was more secure than any other of his Predecessors in his Kingdom. For the Kings of the House of York, which gave Name to one of the Factions, having depressed those of the House of Lancaster, the Name of the other, the Lancastrians, after the Extinction of the Male Issue of that Family, exalted to the Throne Henry of Richmond, as the nearest in Blood of that Race, who after the Death and Overthrow of the Kings his Adverfaries, that he might reign with the greater Security and Authority, married a Daughter of Edward the last King but one of the House of York *. Wherefore it appeared that on Henry born of that Matrimony were transferred all the Rights of both Families, who bore for their Enfigns the Red and White Rose. Henry however was not so much induced to take up Arms in hopes of conquering the Kingdom of France, which he knew VOL. VIII. would

^{*} The Author, by calling Edward the last King but one of the York Line, seems to have overlooked Edward V.

1. D. would be attended with innumerable Difficulties, as by the Cardinal of York's Sollicitations, who, forefeeing the many Troubles and Inconveniencies which must necessarily arise in the Course of a War, ambitiously coveted and expected that the King his Master would be constituted Umpire of all Differences. And, as he knew his Authority in fettling the Articles of Peace would have the greatest Weight, he pleased himself with the Thoughts of making his Name glorious throughout the Universe, and intended at the fame time to establish his Interest with the King of France, to whom he had fecretly inclined: And this was the true Reason why his Engagements at this Juncture were not fo strong as they ought to have been, had he really intended to come heartily into a War. But these were sufficient to confirm Casar in his Resolution to take up Arms, and a still greater Inducement were the Hopes he had placed on the vast Interest and Authority of the Duke of Bourbon in the Kingdom of France, which he expected would raise considerable

derable Commotions in that Country: A. D. 1524: Wherefore, tho' many, laying before him, the Want of Money, and the uncertain Faith of his Allies, counselled him to shake off all Thoughts of a War attended with fo many Difficulties, and to consent that the Pope might treat for a Suspension of Arms, he entered into Confedea Confederacy with the King of Eng-racy be-tween Caland, and the Duke of Bourbon, on these Jar, the Conditions: That the Duke should march King of England, out of Italy into France with Part of the and Duke Army which was in Italy: As foon as bon. he had passed the Alps, the King of England should pay him One Hundred thousand Ducats towards the first Month's Expences of the War, and should be afterwards at Liberty either to continue his monthly Contributions, or to pass with a powerful Army into France, and open the Campaign the first Day of July, and continue his Operations till the End of December, in which Case the States of Flanders should supply him with Three Thousand Horse, One Thoufand Foot, and a fufficient Train of Artillery and Ammunition: That if they I 2 proved

A. D. proved successful the Duke of Bourbon 1524, should be restored to his Estate, which had been seized by the King, and put in Possession of Provence, which he claimed by Virtue of a Cession made by the Duke of Lorrain, after the Death of Charles VIII. to Anne Dutchess of Bourbon; and it was to be created into a Kingdom in his Favour: That the Duke should acknowledge Henry for King of France, and pay him Homage, the Treaty otherwise to be void and null: That Bourbon should not enter into any Negotiation with the King of France without the Confent of both Parties. That Cæfar should at the same Time attack France from the Frontiers of Spain: That the Ambassadors of Charles and Henry should use their best Endeavours to induce the Italian Powers to contribute Money towards an Expedition which would secure them for ever from a French War. But in this Point they failed of Success; for the Pope not only refused to make any Contribution, but expressly condemned the whole Undertaking, foretelling Cæsar that he would not only

THE WARS IN ITALY.

133

only be disappointed in all his Expec- A. D. tations in France, but also be the Cause 1524. of bringing a new War into Italy, much more dangerous than the first.

IN Pursuance of this Scheme the Bourbon's War was resolved on, notwithstanding Expeditithe Duke of Bourbon absolutely refused Provence. to acknowledge the King of England for King of France. The Duke proposed going directly to Lyons, which was near his patrimonial Estate; but it was thought more proper to march into Provence, from whence he might with greater Conveniency be supplied from Spain, and be benefited by the Fleet which Cafar was fitting out at his own Charge at Genoa.

THE Circumstances attending this Expedition were, that Bourbon, accompanied by the Marquis of Pescara, who, disdaining to serve under the Duke, got himself declared the Emperor's Lieutenant General, came to Nice, but with a much less Force than was intended. They had five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred

I 3

Light

A. D. Light Horse, Four Thousand Spanish Foot, Three Thousand Italians, and Five Thousand Germans; but the Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Thoufand more Germans defigned for this Expedition, for Want of Money, were not raised; and the Viceroy, unable to inlist a fresh Body of Foot, as had been refolved in the first Council, in order to oppose Michel' Agnolo, Marquis of Saluzzo, who was marched out of his own State, and posted on the Mountains with One Thousand Men, was obliged to keep with him his Men at Arms for the Defence of the Country. To this must be added that Cælar's Fleet, one of the chief Hopes on which the Undertaking depended, through the Negligence or Treachery of the Commander Don Ugodi Moncada, a Pupil of Valentino, and a Man of no Morals or Principles, was found to be much inferior to the French Fleet, which had failed from Marseilles, and was come to an Anchor in the Port of Villa Franca.

THE Imperialists however entered Provence, where Palisse, la Foellette, Renzo da Ceri, and Federigo da Bozzole, the King's Generals, Generals, not having a sufficient Force A. D. to oppose them, had distributed themselves in the Towns. Part of the Imperialifts marched along the Coast, and, after taking the Tower which commands the Port of Toulon, joined the Army with Two Pieces of Cannon: Aix, the Capital of Provence, both for Aix fur. her Dignity and for being the Seat of renders, the Parliament, surrendered, as did also feveral other Towns of that Country. After the taking of Aix, Bourbon advised to pass the Rhone, and, removing farther from the Sea, endeavour to enter into the Heart of France, before the Country was better provided for their Reception: For the Lances, who had fuffered greatly in Italy, and were now but indifferently paid, the Royal Treasure being exhausted, little expecting that their Enemies would follow them out of Lombardy into France, were in such Disorder that they could not easily be re-established; and the King distrusting, as usual, the Valour of his French Infantry, could not take the Field before the Arrival of the Swis and Germans; and Bourbon

A. D. Bourbon in the mean time was in hopes that by passing the Rhone he might make fome important Progress. But the Marquiss of Pescara and the rest of the Spanish Commanders would not agree to such a Proposal; they were for getting Possession of Marfeilles, which they knew was Cæsar's Intention, because lying on the Sea, the Fleets from Spain might conveniently from thence annoy the French Coast, and the Troops make their Passage that Way into Italy. As Bourbon could not contradict them, Siege Marseilles was laid to Marseilles. Renzo da Ceri

besieged. had entered that Town with the Italian Forces he had brought with him from Lodi and Alessandria, and the Besiegers were Forty Days before the Place to little Purpose; for tho' they battered the Walls in feveral Places, and attempted to make Mines, yet they found too many Difficulties to struggle with, such as the Thickness of the Walls of an ancient Structure, the Valour of the Befieged, and the natural Inclination of the Inhabitants, as much devoted to the French as bitter Enemies to the Spaniards, ever

fince

fince old Alfonso King of Aragon, in his A. D. Return from Naples to Spain, by Sur- 1524. prise put their Town to the Sack; and they were now in high Spirits on account of the Succours they expected not only by Sea but also by Land. For the King was come to Avignon, a Town on the Rhone, belonging to the Church. intent on affembling a powerful Army. To these Difficulties must be added the Want of Money in the Army; they had lost besides all Hopes that the King, by being attacked in other Parts of his Kingdom, would be disabled from moving his whole Force to one fingle Part: For tho' the King of England had fent Richard Pacey to Bourbon, yet he refused the second Monthly Payment of the Hundred Thousand Ducats, and gave no Marks of any Design of invading Picardy; on the contrary he admitted Giovanni Giovacchino, of Spetie, who was fent to him by the King of France; and the Cardinal of York giving at the fame Time cross Answers to the Imperial Ministers, Cæsar began to entertain no small Jealousy of the King's Intentions. Neither

raised.

A. D. Neither from the Side of Spain did the Succours answer Cæsar's Desires, for the CORTES of Castile, the Name given to the Affembly of the Deputies of the whole Kingdom, had refused to grant him the Supply of Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, with which they were used to supply their Kings on Occasions of Importance, which prevented his fending Money to the Army in Provence; and his Preparations for attacking France from his Frontiers were weak and infignificant. All thefe Accidents fo disheartened the Besiegers. that despairing of obtaining Marseilles, and fearing great Danger from the King's Siege of Approach, they broke up the Siege the Marfeilles fame Day that the King, after affembling Six Thousand Swis, was setting out from Avignon with his Army. As foon as the Siege was raised, the Imperialists turned their Faces towards Italy, marching with all the Speed imaginable, as fensible of the Risque they should run if overtaken by the Whole or any Part of the King's Army in an Enemy's Country.

FRANCIS

1524.

FRANCIS now thought he had a very fair Opportunity for recovering the Dut-Francis I. chy of Milan, both in regard to his own his Intenpowerful Army, and the weak Condition going into of the Enemy, and because he hoped Italy. that, by taking the direct Road, he might get into Italy sooner than those who were marching from Marseilles. Being therefore determined not to let slip the Occasion which Fortune had thrown in his Way, he thus addressed his Army: " I am determined without Delay to go in Person into Italy, and shall therefore not only not hearken to, but also take it very ill of any one who should presume to advise the contrary. Let every one punctually obey the Orders which shall be given, and attend to perform the Duties of his Office. God the Lover of Justice, in order to chastife the Insolence and Rashness of my Enemies, has at last opened a Way for my recovering what had been unjustly ravished from me." His Constancy in this Resolution, and his Speed in its Execution kept equal Pace with his Words; for he immediately moved with his Army confifting of

Two

A. D. Two Thousand Lances, and Twenty Thousand Foot, avoiding a Meeting with his Mother, who was coming from Avignon, to persuade him not to pass the Mountains, but to leave the Management of the War to his Generals. He ordered Renzo da Ceri to embark on the Fleet with his Troops that were in Marfeilles, then to put a Stop to all Treaties, or distrusting the Pope, he forbad the Archbishop of Capoua, who was sent Ambassador to him, and was afterwards to pass to Cæsar, to proceed any farther; signifying to him that he might refide at Avignon with his Mother, and execute his Commission by Letters, or else return to the Pope. He was in the mean while with all Speed following the Enemy, who, despising the Molestations given them by the Country People, and proceeding in very good Order along the Sea Shore. were arrived at Monaco, where burfting their Cannon, and loading the Mules with the Pieces for the more easy Conveyance, they advanced to Finale, at which Place, hearing of the King's Motions, they redoubled their Speed to arrive in Time for the Defence of the Dutchy of Milan,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

141

for the Troops they had left were not fuf- A. D. ficient to make a relistance.

BOTH Armies proceeding in this Manner towards Italy, it happened that the same Day the King came to Vercelli, the Marquis of Pescara, with the Horse and Spa-Italy. nish Foot, entered Alba, the Duke of Bourbon with the German Foot being a Day's March behind; the Duke, hardly allowing himself Time to breathe, the Day following from Alba arrived at Voghiera, which was a March of Forty Miles, in order to enter Pavia the next Day. He there joined the Viceroy, who with great Speed was come from Alessandria, where he had left Two Thousand Foot in Garrifon, just at the time that the King's Army began to arrive on the Banks of the Tesino. At a Council at Pavia, at which Girolamo Morone affisted, it was at first resolved to leave a sufficient Garrison in Pavia, and then to make a Stand, as had been practised before, at Milan; and Morone was ordered thither to provide all Necessaries, and the Duke, who had been fent for to come to Pavia, was to follow

him

A. D. him, Antonio de Leva being left in Pavia with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Thousand Foot, all Germans, excepting a few Italians. They accordingly fet out for Milan; but that Town, having been all the Summer forely afflicted with Plague in Milan. the Plague, had no Resemblance of its former Lustre; for vast Numbers of the Citizens having perished, and of those who had escaped so dire a Calamity many ng gone away, there was no more to be feen that Plenty of Provisions, and it was very difficult to raise Money; and as no Care had been taken to keep up the Fortifications, they lay in Ruins; yet, in the

> Midst of all these Missortunes, the People were as ready as before to undergo the fame Labour and Danger. But Morone, being convinced that to bring the Army to Milan would rather prove the Destruction of the Soldiery than the Defence of the City, took another Refolution, and, in the Midst of a Multitude of Citizens,

made the following Speech:

WE

"WE may repeat this Day, with no less_ Anguish of Mind, the same Words that Morone's were pronounced by our Saviour in his the Mila-Agony, 'The Spirit indeed is ready, but the nefe. Flesh is weak.' You are in the same Difposition as ever to live under the Government of your Duke Francesco Sforza, and his Heart is equally oppressed for the Miferies and Dangers of his beloved People; he is willing and ready to lay down his Life for your Safety, and you are as much defirous to expose your Persons for his Support as you have done on former Occafions. But your Strength is no ways equal to your good Will, for the City is almost void of Inhabitants, we are straitened for Provisions and Want of Money, and your Fortifications are in fo bad a Condition, that it is impossible to prevent the Enemy's Entrance. It is Death to the Duke to be obliged to defert you, but it would be worse than Death, if, undertaking your Defence, he should prove the Cause of your utter Destruction, which would infallibly be the Event. In fuch dangerous Cases that Person is reckoned prudent, who

A. D. who chuses the lesser Evil, and does not at. once with one desperate Resolution deprive himself of all Hope. It is on this Principle that the Duke advises you to submit to the present Necessity, and obey the King of France, till the Return of better Times, which we have very good Reason to expect very soon. The Duke at present will take Care of himself, but afterwards your Concerns will be his chief Attention. Cæsar's Power is very great, his good Fortune not to be described, the Cause is very just, our Enemies the same we have so often conquered. God will be pleased with your Loyalty to the Duke, and with the Duke's Attention to his Country, and we ought to assure ourselves, that it is for some good End to permit us at this Instant to labour under fuch Calamities, and be confident that very foon he will affift us in obtaining fo compleat a victory over our proud Enemies, as will enable us to retrieve all our Losses during the long Peace it will procure us." As foon as he had finished this Speech, after furnishing the Castle with Provisions, he quitted the Town.

THE

The Duke, ignorant of what had passed, was coming towards Milan, and had
no sooner got out of Pavia than he met
Ferrando Castriotta with the Artillery, who
informed him that part of the Enemy had Ferrando
passed the Tesino, and that meeting with Castriotta
Captain of
Zucchero Borg ognone on that River, with the Artilhis Light Horse, they had put him to lety.
Flight; the Duke, fearing therefore he
should fall in with the French on the
Road, returned to Pavia.

THOUGH the Duke and Morone had acted with Sincerity in this Affair, yet the Imperial Commanders, who were with the Army at Binasco, suspected that they had made fome private Agreement with the King of France, and therefore fent Alarcone with Two Hundred Lances to Milan, whom they defigned to follow, or not, according to the Advices he should give them. On his Arrival the Milanefe, who were already treating with fome Exiles fent thither by the King, taking Courage, cried Cafar and Francesco Sforza! But Alarcone finding it was not practicable VOL. VIII.

A. D. ble to defend the Town, and having Notice that the Van of the French was approaching, quitted the Place and thro' the Roman Gate made towards Lodi, whither the whole Imperial Army was marching at the same Time that the Enemy were The entering Milan thro' the Gates of the Te-French fino and of Vercelli: And if, instead of making for that City, they had followed and attacked the Imperialists, who were tired with their long Marches, and had loft a great Number of Arms and Horses, it is the general Belief that they might have dispersed them with Ease; nay, if, even after approaching Milan, they had immediately turned towards Lodi, the Imperial Commanders would not have ventured to continue there; and perhaps if they had then crossed the Adda with the same Speed, they might in all Likelihood, with the same Ease, have put the Remainder of the Army into great Confu-

fion.

But the King, either that he thought it to be a Matter of the highest Concern to make himself sure of Milan, from whence

THE WARS IN ITALY.

147 whence he always received the principal A.D. Opposition, or that he was not aware of 1524. the Opportunity, or from some other The King Reason, not only approached Milan, Castle of Milan to which he neither entered himself, nor be besieg. permitted his Army to enter, but halted ed. there till he had put therein a proper Garrison, and given orders for the Siege of the Castle, which was defended by 700 Spaniards. It must however be said to his great Praise, that out of his great Goodness and merciful Temper, he gave Orders that none of the Milanese should be molested. After settling what he And marches thought requifite at Milan, he marched to Pavia his Army to Pavia, thinking it was dangerous to leave behind a Town full of Soldiers. The King's Army was at this Time, reckoning those left in Milan, computed to confift of Two Thousand Lances, Eight Thousand Germans, Six Thousand Swiss, Six Thousand Volunteers, and Four Thousand Italians, which last grew afterwards considerably more

numerous.

K 2 THE

A. D. 1524.

Marquis

THE Marquis of Pescara was at this Time at Lodi with Two Thousand Foot, of Pescara and the Viceroy, after leaving Garrisons in Alessandria, Como and Trezzo, was gone to Sonzino, with Francesco Sforza, and Charles de Bourbon. It was joyful News to the Imperialists, amidst so many Difficulties, to hear the King was gone to Pavia. This raised their drooping Spirits, and giving them Hopes of being able to put themselves in a better Condition, provided that Town held out for some Time, without which they had no Prospect of retrieving their Affairs, they instantly sent into Germany to inlift Six Thousand Foot, having in their Hands for their Salary, and other necessary Charges, Fifty Thousand Ducats, which Cæfar had lodged in Genoa for the Use of the War in Provence. Yet nothing so much embarassed their Counfels as the Want of Money, nor could they hope to raife any in the Dutchy, nor expected from Charles, in his penurious Condition, any thing more than his Orders to mortgage, as far as he could, the Revenues of the Kingdom of Naples. Little

A. D. Little or no Supply either of Men or 1524. Money was expected from their old Allies, for both the Pope and Florentines, being defired to contribute Money, had given general Answers. The Pope, after the Departure of the Admiral, being fully determined to stand neuter in the War between Cafar and the King of France, would not renew the Alliance made by his Predecessor, nor enter into any new Confederacy with any Prince: and at the very Time that he made Profession of Friendship to Charles and the King of England, he had fecretly affured the King of France that he should not oppose him whenever he attacked the Dutchy of Milan: And the Venetians being required by Venetians the Viceroy to fend to the Army the do not Troops they had engaged for in the join the Articles of the League, tho' they did Imperinot absolutely refuse, yet gave very cool Answers, with an Intention to regulate their Counsels according to the Turn of Affairs, either because some of them called to Mind their antient Confederacy with France, or because they believed that the King of France being in K 3 Italy

A. D.

Italy with so powerful an Army, and his Enemy in so weak a Condition, he must of course be victorious; or that they more than ever suspected the ambitious Views of Cæsar. For to the Surprise, and with the Complaints, in a manner, of all Italy, he had not yet given to Francesco Sforza the Investiture of the Dutchy of Milan. They were besides held in Suspence by the Pope's Authority, whose Counsels and Example had a great Weight with them at this Juncture.

Pavia besieged. But the King of France, having made his Approach to Pavia, on the upper Side, between the Tesino and the High Road that leads to Milan, and posted the Vanguard in the Suburb of Sant' Antonio, on the other Side of the Tesino, on the Road to Genoa, took up his own Quarters in the Abbey of San Lansranco, a Mile from the Walls of the Town. After two Days firing from two Batteries, with his Army in Battle Array he began the Assault; but observing that the Town was well fortisted within the Walls, that the Enemy made a gallant Desence, and on the

the contrary that his own Men gave ma- A. D. nifest Tokens of Fear, after many of them had been killed, he ordered to found the Retreat; and finding how difficult it would prove to take a Town defended by fo numerous and warlike a Garrison by Storm, he determined to make a regular Siege, by cutting of Trenches, and erecting Platforms, with a vast Number of Pioneers employed in working on the Flanks, that the Soldiers might with less Danger make their Approaches. To this tedious and difficult Work he added that of making Mines being determined to gain his point tho' he should advance but Inch by Inch; and at last, under great Doubts from the Bravery and Numbers of the Besieged, and taking Advice of many able Engineers, perfectly acquainted with the Course of the River, which two Miles above Pavia divides itself into two Branches, and then a Mile below it, before entering the Po, unites again, he resolved to turn that Branch which passes by the Side of Pavia into the other lesser Branch, called Gravalone, in hopes it would facilitate the taking

of

A. D.

of it on that Side, where the Wall, on account of the Security it received from the Depth of the Water, had no Fortification. In this Work, which was carried on with an incredible Number of Hands, at a vast Expence, and not without Apprehension of frequent Sallies from the Besieged, he wasted many Days, sometimes the Violence of the Waters, very much fwelled by heavy Rains, ruining the Banks, which were cast up in the Channel where the River divides itself, in order to force it into the leffer Stream, and sometimes he expected to overcome the violence of the River by Dint of Men and Money; but at last Experience convinced him of what is most commonly the Case that the Rapidity of Rivers has greater Power than all the Labour of Workmen, and the Industry of expert Engineers. The King therefore deprived of this Hope, and of taking the Town by Force, or by Arts of Engineers, was obliged to content himself with carrying on a formal Siege, by the Length of which he imagined to reduce the Garrison to a Necessity of surrendering.

1524. But whilft Affairs were proceeding, in the manner related, the Pope as soon as The Pope fends the he heard that the King had got Possession Bishop of of Milan, much concerned at fo prospe-Verona to rous a Beginning, and therefore defirous to secure his own Affairs, sent to him Gian Matteo Giberto, Bishop of Verona, his Datary, a Person he could intirely confide in, and who he knew was not unacceptable to the King. He was commissioned to call first at Sonzino, to exhort the Viceroy and other Commanders to enter into some Terms of Agreement, and acquaint them that he was proceeding on the fame Errand to the French Camp: But the Imperial Generals, grown fanguine at the flout Refistance made at Pavia, fiercely answered that they would give Ear to no Composition which should leave the King of France in Possession of a Foot of Land in the Milanese. He found no better, and perhaps a harder disposition in the who re-King of France, who, elated with the comply Power of his Army, and by his being in a Defire. Condition not only to subsist but also increase

A. D. crease it, answered the Bishop that it was chiefly on those Grounds he had undertaken to pass into Italy, and not, as it might be thought, with a View only of getting thither before the Enemy, tho' in this he had in a great measure succeeded: And now he made no Doubt of taking Pavia, the Walls of which he was brifkly battering, having made fuch Works as he hoped could not be refifted by the Enemy for their Want of Powder, which was comprehended by their flow Firing; they had also a Scarcity of Bread, and he did not despair of turning the Tesino: That he was far even from thinking that the fole Recovery of Milan and Genoa were fufficient Rewards for his great Trouble, and immense Expences, and therefore had as much in View the attacking the Kingdom of Naples. The Bishop then entered on the chief Business for which he had been fent, which was soon brought to a Conclusion; for the Pope engaged that neither he nor the Florentines should give any Affistance either open or fecret against the King, who took both the Pope and Florentines into his

his Protection by a Deed, in which he A. D. particularly inserted the Authority of the 1524. Family de' Medici in Florence, and it was agreed that this Convention should not be divulged till his Holiness thought proper. But tho' this Agreement came not to the Knowledge of the Imperialists, yet their Jealoufy of the Pope's Intentions increased: And in order to make a full Discovery of his Mind, they sent to him Marino, Abbot of Nagera, who was Commissary of their Camp, with Propofals that might work both upon his Hopes and Fears: for on one Hand they made him vast Offers, and on the other they represented that, as Cæsar and the King of France were in the Height of their Contention, Cafar could not but regard as Enemies whoever at this Juncture should stand neuter. But Clement replied, that nothing could be more unbecoming a Roman Pontiff than to make himself a Party in Quarrels amongst Christian Princes: The Office of a Pastor was to be neuter, by which Means he should with greater Authority become a Mediator between them, for which

1524.

which End he was already treating with Cæsar by means of the Archbishop of Capua, who after the Acquisition of Milan, with a Pass from the King's Mother, passed thro' Lions into Spain, where after excusing, with the same Reasons, the Pope's Refusal to renew the League which Cæsar had vehemently pressed as foon as he heard of the King's March towards Italy, he earnestly exhorted him that either with a Truce or Peace he would lay down his Arms. Cafar furrounded by fo many Difficulties was willing to come into an Agreement, for he considered that he could not raise Money in Spain for the Italian Affairs, that the King of France seemed to carry all before him, and he suspected that the King of England had made some secret Agreement with his Enemy, because that King the King not only refused to let the Fifty Thoufand Ducats which he had remitted to Rome, for the War in Provence, be fent to the Army in Lombardy, but, what gave a greater Suspicion, demanded of Cæsar, in a Time of fo great Distress, a Restitution

of Money lent, and Payment of all the

Cæfar **fuspects** of England's Sincerity.

Sums

Sums for which he was engaged. For A. D. Cæsar, so long ago as when he went 1524. into Spain, being very desirous of an Alliance with the King of England, in order to remove any Obstacle that might keep him in Suspense, engaged to pay him the fame yearly Pension which was allowed him by the King of France, and Twenty Thousand Ducats more for the Pensions Francis paid to the Cardinal of York and other English Ministers, and also the Thirty Thousand Ducats which were allotted to Queen Blanche, who had been married to King Lewis, of all which Sums nothing had hitherto been paid. To all these inward Afflictions must be added, that Cæsar, at that Time, laboured under a bodily Infirmity, for he took fo much to Heart the Miscarriage at Marseilles, that it threw him into a Quartan Ague; yet, either because he was of so high a Spirit, that no Difficulties could prevail on him to stoop to an Enemy, or confiding in the Valour of his Officers in case of a Battle, or promising himself that he must needs be an extraordinary

A. D. traordinary Favourite of Fortune for the 1524. future as well as in Times past, he answered that it was below his Dignity to come into any Convention whilst the King of France molested with his Army the Milanese.

THE King, in the mean Time, was come to a Resolution of invading the Kingdom of Naples, in hopes that the Viceroy, alarmed at the Danger, for no Garrisons had been kept in the Towns, would either draw off his Forces from that Dutchy to defend that Kingdom, or would at least agree to lay down his Arms on disadvantageous Conditions, which was what he began almost to wish when he found so many Difficulties in the Siege of Pavia.

Duke of HE appointed John Stuart, Duke of Albany fent for the King-for his Commander in Chief in this dom of Naples. Expedition, with a Detachment from the Army of Two Hundred Lances, Six Hundred Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot, one Half of which were Italians,

Italians, Four Hundred Swifs, and the rest Germans; and ordered Renzo da Ceri, in order to join him, to land at Liverno the Foot destined for the Fleet, which, being retarded by the Difficulty in providing Necessaries for its Equipment, was still at Anchor in the Port of Villa Franca; and that Renzo and others of the Orsini should enlist Four Thousand Men in the Territory of He notified this Resolution to the Pontiff by Alberto Count of Carpi, his Ambassador, solliciting Leave to levy Men in Rome, and for his Army to pass thro' the Ecclesiastic State.

THE Pope was very uneafy at such a Request, and could not bear to think that the King of France should make himself Master both of the Dutchy of Milan and of the Kingdom of Naples; but not daring to give a flat Denial, he exhorted him to lay aside this Undertaking for the present, that he might not put him under a Necesfity of refusing him what he could not confent to for just Causes, demonstrating to him, with folid Reasonings, that this

Point

A. D. Point was contrary to his own Interest; for if the Desire of recovering the Dutchy of Milan had stirred him up so many Enemies, what could he expect if he was also to aspire to the Kingdom of Naples? Who would wonder if the Venetians should, at such a Provocation, join the Emperor, even with a greater Force than they were engaged to by Treaty? He begged of him to confider that if by any Accident his Progress should be obstructed in Lombardy, with what Discredit he would enter Naples, and how his Miscarriage in any one of these States would inevitably be the Cause of his Overthrow in the other. And, lastly, that he ought to remember how he had commended him for betaking himself to the Duty of a Pontiff, and therefore it would be abfurd to oblige him now to act the contrary Part.

But all he alledged was to no Purpose, for the Duke of Alhany, without waiting for an Answer, as if he were sure of the Pope's Concession, had passed the Po at the Passage of Stellata, in the Milanese,

Milanese, but aster Five Days he returned; A. D. for the King, on the News that the Germans had begun to arrive in the Enemy's Camp, and that the Duke of Bourbon was gone himself into Germany to raise more Men, thought it proper to keep his whole Army together, till it was increased with a new supply of Swiss and Grisons, whom he had sent to inlist.

In the mean time the military Operations were in a manner at a stand; the King indeed continued the Siege of Pavia, working at the Trenches and Batteries without ceasing, whilst the Imperialists lay quiet, waiting the Return of Bourbon, except that the Marquis of Pescara, who, for his Forefight and Resolution, had the greatest Sway in their Councils, and to whom. without Dispute, was committed the Execution of all their Resolutions, set out from Lodi one Night with Two Hun-Marquis of Pescara dred Horse and Two Thousand Foot, surprises a and unexpectedly entering the Town of Body of French at Melzi, negligently guarded by Girolamo Melzi. and Gianfermo de' Trivulzi, with Two Hundred Horse, made them both Pri-VOL. VIII. foners,

A. D. foners, with almost the whole Garrison, and Girolamo died a few Days after of a Wound he received in the Action.

Grisons and Swifs join the French Army.

By this time the Grisons and Swiss joined the Royal Army, at whose Coming the Duke of Albany croffed again the Poat Stradella, in the Piacentine, the Pope not being able to diffuade the King from his Enterprise on Naples, and, for Fear perhaps of giving him Cause of Jealousy, he was no longer eager in preffing him against it, but thought it proper however to inform the Imperialists of the Convention he had made with his Majesty, and, at the same time to offer anew his Mediation for a Peace, which he had Reason to think the Parties would now more willingly hearken to, on account of the Difficulties in the Siege of Pavia, and the Danger of the Kingdom of Naples. For this Pur-The Pope pofe he fent Pagolo Vettori, the Captain of his Gallies, to the Viceroy, to ac-

fends Pagolo Vettori to the Viceroy:

quaint him how it had not been in his Power, tho' he had earnestly endeavoured it, to diffuade the King of France from invading the Kingdom of Naples,

A. D.

Naples, nor could he, without drawing the War on his own Dominions, which, he was not in a Condition to fustain. refuse a Passage to the French Army; on the contrary, he was under a Neceffity, for his own Safety, to enter into new Conventions with the King; but he might rest secure that he should not agree to any Article prejudicial to Casar, who he was certain could not take a better Step, in his present Condition, than to enter into a Treaty of Peace, which, that it might be negotiated before greater Diforders arose, he intreated the Viceroy to consent to a Cessation of Arms, and to deposit, fince the King would not otherwise agree, into neutral Hands what he and the Duke of Milan were in Possession of in the Milanese. When this should be effected, some proper Expedient might be found out for making an honourable Peace, in which it was intended intirely to separate the Dutchy of Milan from the Crown of France, the Emperor, in Confideration of a proper Sum of Money, giving the Investiture of it to a Second Son of the King; that L 2 . the

the Duke of Milan and Duke of Bourbon should be honourably provided for, and that the Pope, Venetians and Florentines should engage to join the Emperor against France, if the King made any Infringement of what should be stipulated. The Imperial Commanders were fensible of their great Difficulties and Dangers, in being obliged, with fuch a Scarcity of Money, to sustain at the same Time the War in Lombardy, and take Care of the Kingdom of Naples, whilst it was manifest they should receive no Subsidies from the Pope and Florentines, and whilst they were already certain they should be treated in the same manner by the Venetians, who, tho' by enlisting Men they endeavoured to make them believe that they intended to stand to the League, yet deferred with various Excuses its Execution. Wherefore the Viceroy, not being averse from an Agreement, was inclined, for the Security of the Kingdom of Naples, to retire thither with his Army. But the Marquis of Pescara's Opinion prevailed in the Council, who boldly as well as prudently made it appear that, despising

despising all other Dangers, it was ne- A. D. cessary to carry on and continue the War in Lombardy, because their Whole de-Marquis of Pescara pended on a Victory in that Country: prevails That it was not defigned to attack the imperia-Kingdom of Naples with fuch Forces, lifts not to nor could they get thither with the sup-quit Lomposed Expedition, for they would meet with many fortified Towns, defended by those whose All depended on their Defence, and therefore would hold out at least for many Months, by which time an End, in all Likelihood, would be put to the War in the Milanese; and, if with Victory, who could doubt but they should immediately free the Kingdom of Naples from the French, tho' Cafar kept Possesfion but of one fingle Tower? By remaining in Lombardy they might possibly conquer both at Milan and Naples, but by going to Naples, Milan would be certainly lost, without lessening the Danger of Naples, which would immediately become the Seat of the War. And what must be our Hopes in returning thither as conquered? Whereas the French, entering in a triumphant Manner, would pre-L 3 fently

A. D. Sently have in their Favour the Cry of the People, who always, from their voluble Nature, Hatred and Fear, are every Day ready to meet the Fortune of the Conqueror; whence the Kingdom of Naples would no more defend itself than the Dutchy of Milan. Nor has indeed the King of France any other View in dividing his Army, whilft he is still doubtful of his Success in Lombardy, and beginning a new War whilst the first is depending, than that he expects that, out of fo great a Concern for the Kingdom of Naples, we should leave him in Prey the Dutchy of Milan. Shall we therefore be directed by the Enemy's Counsels, and at their Pleafure march our Army, fo often victorious? What else can it mean than that, to our eternal Difgrace, we are willing to yield up to the Threats of the Conquered that Glory which we have acquired by fighting so often against them?

> THE Viceroy at last submitted, and sent the Duke of Trajetto to Naples with Orders that, after collecting all the Money that could be got, Ascanio Colonna and the

the Barons should attend to the Defence A. D. of that Kingdom; and, tho' he had given a civil Answer to the Pope's Mesfenger, he now wrote to Rome in a very angry Stile, refusing to hearken to any Accommodation whatfoever. Hence the Pope pretending to be driven by Neceffity, because the Duke of Albany daily advanced, declared, not as a Thing before transacted, that he had made an Agreement with the King of France, only by a fimple Engagement not to molest one the other: and by a Brief he notified the same to Cæsar's Agents, in which he gave his Reasons, which consisted particularly in the Necessity which had induced him. This Brief was delivered to Cafar by Giovanni Corfi, the Florentine Ambassador, with such softening Speeches as the Subject required. But Charles, who hitherto feemed to perfuade himself that the Pope would not so much as think of abandoning him in his present Distress, answered in great Heat, that neither Hatred nor Ambition, nor particular Views had induced him at first to enter into a War with the King of France, but only La

A. D. only the Sollicitations and Authority of Pope Leo, at the Instigation, as he faid, of the present Pope, at that Time Cardinal de' Medici, who reprefented it to him as very dangerous to the public Welfare, that the King of France should have any Footing in Italy: That the faid Cardinal had been the Author of the Confederacy which was made for that Purpose before Adrian's Death; he therefore took it extreamly ill, that the Person, who, above all others, ought to have stood by him in Time of Danger, should be the first to abandon him in the Difficulties in which he had himfelf involved him, and make a Change so hurtful to him without any Necessity. For to what could fuch a Step be attributed, but to a groundless Fear, whilst Pavia defended itself? He then observed how much he had taken his Interest at Heart fince Leo's Death, especially in two Conclaves, and how he bestirred himself in favour of his Election to the Pontificate, on a Supposition that, thro' his Means, the Liberty and Welfare of Italy would be established. Nor could he

he persuade himself that his Holiness A. D. could ever forget the faithless Treatment he had received from the King of France, or that he would not consider what he had Reason to hope or fear from a French Victory. He concluded, that, neither on the Pope's unjust and unexpected Refolution, nor for any other Accident, he should be wanting to himself; nor would he have it thought that, for Want of Money, he might change his Sentiments; for he would sooner run the Risque of losing all his Kingdoms and his Life, and that he was so determined to put in Execution what he had proposed, that he prayed to God it might not endanger his eternal Salvation.

To these Complaints the Florentine Minister replied, that the Pope, after his Election to the supreme Dignity, was no longer bound to act as Cardinal de' Medici, but as Roman Pontiss, whose Office it was to make it his Business to compose Quarrels between Christians, which he thought so necessary a Duty that he had often writ to his Majesty on that Sub-

1. D. ject, and twice fent to him the Archbi-Thop of Capua to acquaint him of his just Resolution of being neuter. He had communicated these Sentiments to him when the Admiral left Italy, there being no Juncture in which he could treat with greater Honour to himself; but all the Answer he could draw from your Majesty was, that nothing could be done without the Consent of the King of England. He defired Cafar to recollect how much the Pope diffuaded the Irruption into Provence, because it wholly broke off all Hopes of Peace; and how, divining at what after happened, he had foretold that the Necessity laid on the King of France, for collecting an Army might be the Cause of greater and more dangerous Combustions in Italy: That he had employed the Bishop of Verona to persuade the King, after he was in Possesfion of Milan, and the Viceroy to come into some Terms of Agreement; but that he had not found in either any Inclination to Peace. That he had fince, with many cogent Reasons, and in an absolute Manner, refused to grant a Pass for the French

French Troops through the ecclesiastic A. D. State in their Way to the Kingdom of Naples. But the King not only paid no Regard to his Speeches, but fent Troops into the Piacentine, without waiting for his Answer; which had at last induced him to fend Pagolo Vettori to the Viceroy to exhort him to a Cessation of Arms, on fuch Terms as the Times would allow of, and to inform him of the Necessity he was under of fecuring himself from imminent Danger, especially since the Venetians stood in Suspence, and the King of England was unwilling to concur in the Defence of the Dutchy of Milan, unless Cæsar in Conjunction with him, would commence a War in France. But when he found that the Viceroy rejected all Proposals, and French Troops still advanced he was obliged to make himself sure of the King, and take his Word that he should not be molested, on no other Obligation than not to act against him. But Cafar complained that the Conditions offered to the Viceroy had been unreasonable, for it was required that he should deposit what he was in Posfession

A. D. fession of, without any Mention being made that the King of France was to Casar redo the same; and concluded, that the surface of the Marquis of Pescara, in counselling Truce. him to come to some Agreement, had represented the Camp sull of Disorders, and his Affairs in a dangerous Situation, yet he should not think of suing for Peace, but, depending on the Valour of his Soldiers, hoped he should obtain a Victory whenever the two Armies met.

Duke of Ferrara While, the with fome Intermission in the taken into the King's Firing of the Artillery, for want of Amprotection munition. To remedy this Inconveniency, the King was content that the Duke of Ferrara, whom he had lately received into his Protection, on the Obligation of paying down Seventy Thousand Ducats, should account for Twenty Thousand of them in Ammunition, which he and sent through the Parmesan and Piacentine, Ammunition to the Countrymen, by the Pope's Order, Army. furnishing Waggons and Oxen for the

Carriage; for which heavy Complaints were made by the Viceroy, as if such a

Step

Step had been expressly taken with an In- A. D. tent to serve the King of France. The King, for the fafe Convoy of those Stores, had fent Two Hundred Horse and Fifteen Hundred Foot, under Giovanni de' Medici, who, from the Beginning of the War, under a Pretence that the Viceroy looked upon him with an evil Eye, and did not allow him Money sufficient for marching his Men, had quitted the Imperial Service, and entered that of France. This Escort was thought sufficient for securing the Ammunition, because the Duke of Albany was at Hand, having just then paffed the Po. But the Viceroy and the Marquis of Pescara, in order to intercept this Supply, laid a Bridge near Cremona, and passed the Po with Six Hundred Men at Arms, and Eight Thousand Foot, and came the first Day to Monticelli; but, on hearing that the King had fent after them Thomas de Foix with Part of the Army, they speedily repassed the River.

As foon as the Viceroy was retired, the Duke of Duke of Albany continued his March flow through the Country of Reggio, and over March towards the Naples.

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. the Appennine Mountains, by the Carfagnana; but he proceeded so very slow,
that he confirmed the Belief that the
King's Design in that Expedition was
more to frighten the Germans into a Peace,
or to induce them to abandon the Affairs
of Lombardy, than out of Hopes of making
any Progress. Renzo da Ceri joined the
Duke, near Lucca, with Three Thousand
Foot, that were come on Board the Fleet,
which, in its Passage, took Savona and
Varagine, by Composition, and afterwards,
returning on the western Riviera of Genoa,
kept that City in Awe.

Beginning of which Don Ugo di Moncada, fetting Sail from Genoa with the Spanish Fleet, made a descent with Three Thoufand Men at Varagine, which had a small Garrison of Frenchmen: But the French Fleet coming to its Relief, under the Marquis of Saluzzo, the Enemy's Squadron, destitute of Foot, retired, and the French landing, attacked the Spaniards, and, after killing a great Number, broke them, and took Don Ugo Prisoner.

IN

In the Beginning of this Year the Duke Contribuof Albany constrained the Lucchese to pay Contribution of the
him Twelve Thousand Ducats, and to Lucchese.
lend him some Artillery, then advancing
thro' the Florentine Dominion, where he
was treated as a Friend, he halted at Siena,
at the Pope's Desire, who, not being
able to redress his Grievances by Authority or Force, was resolved to try how
far he could prevail with Art and Industry.

CLEMENT was no ways uneafy at the Clement King's getting Possession of the Dutchy to make of Milan, because he imagined that him stay whilst Charles and Francis had both a Footing in Italy, the Apostolic See, and his Pontificate would be secure from the Power of both; and for this very Reason he could not be pleased at the King's making himself Master of the Kingdom of Naples, dreading that a Prince, already so powerful, should be Master at the same time of that Kingdom and the Dutchy of Milan. Wherefore, seeking Occasion to defer the March of the Duke of Albany,

A. D. bany, he follicited the King that in his Passage he would put the Government of

Government of Siena.

Siena on a new Footing; for that City being fituated between Rome and Florence, he was defirous to have it under the Direction of his Friends, as it had been, thro' his means, a few Months before. For Cardinal Petrucci dying in the Pontificate of Adrian. Francesco his Nephew, aspiring to his Succession in the Government, was opposed, on account of his arrogant Behaviour, by the Magistracy de' Nove, tho' they were of the same Party. They applied to the Duke of Sella, Cæsar's Ambassador, and to Cardinal de' Medici, to alter the Constitution of their City, either by restoring it toits pristine Liberty, or investing Fabio, the Son of Ridolfo Petrucci, with that Authority, tho' he had not long before stolen away from Naples. After this Affair had been long deliberated, on Clement's Assumption to the Pontificate, by his and Cafar's Approbation, Fabio was at last restored to his Father's Place; but not having the Authority his Father had enjoyed, the City in general inclined to Liberty, the Magistracy de' Nove not heartily uniting with him,

nor well agreeing amongst themselves, A. D. the Weakness that attends the Power of a fingle Person, when it is not founded on the Love of the Citizens, nor managed totally, and in all Respects different from the Manner of a Tyrant, was the Cause that, notwithstanding the Place was guarded with his own People, on a popular Tumult, excited one Day by his Adversaries, without the Help of foreign Soldiers, he was easily drove out of the City. Wherefore the Pope, who could not confide in the Multitude, nor in the other Faction, was defirous to replace the Authority in the Hands of the Magistracy de' Nove, that he might afterwards have it in his Power to place at the Helm either Fabio or any other amongst them whom he should think fit. When a Perfon is once suspected, all his Actions are misconstrued; so this Step of the Pontiff increased the Notion of the Imperialists, that the Capitulation between Clement and the King contained other Obligations and Matters which would produce Effects of much greater Importance than a Neutrality.

A. D. 1525.

THE Duke's Stay in the Neighbourhood of Siena was the Cause that the Senese, to free themselves from the Molestations of the Army, conferred a very ample Authority on those Citizens in whom the Pope could confide for fettling the Form of Government. After this was accomplished, the Duke receiving some Artillery, and a certain Sum of Money from the Senese, proceeded forwards, but with his usual Slowness. From Monte Fiascone he repaired to Rome, to have a Conference with his Holiness; then croffing the Tiber at Fiano, he quartered his Men in the Towns of the Orfini, where they were affembling new Troops, raised in Rome by the Pope's Permission, who gave the same Liberty to the Colonnas. who were gathering Soldiers for the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples, and had their Head Quarters at Marino. But the People in general had but an indifferent Opinion of the Duke of Albany's Expedition, both on account of his tardy Motions, and for his Want of Money.

nor

THE Eyes, Ears, and Thoughts of the Public were now wholly employed on Want of Necessathe Affairs of Lombardy, which feeming ries in to be drawing to an End, by reason of Pavia. different Incidents, excited fometimes the Hopes, and sometimes the Fears of each Party. In Pavia the Besieged were in great Want of Money, and Ammunition for their Artillery. Their Wine began to fail, and all other Provisions, Bread excepted. The German Foot, infolent enough of themselves, demanded their Pay at the Instigation of their Officers, in a fort of a riotous Manner, which gave a Suspicion that they had secretly agreed with the King of France. On the other Duke of hand the Viceroy, on the Approach of Bourbon the Duke of Bourbon, who was bringing Troops with him from Germany Five Hundred from Ger-Burgundian Horse, and Six Thousand German Foot, which had been enlisted with Money of the King of the Romans, was gone to Lodi, where the whole Army was to rendezvous, and, as was thought, would not be inferior to that of the French; but there was no Money, M 2

nor Means of procuring any, for marching or subsisting the Army. They quite despaired of getting Money from the Pope or Florentines, as also from the Venetians, who, after fo many Delays and Excuses, had declared at last to the Protonotary Caracciolo, the Emperor's Ambassador, that they should regulate their Proceedings by those of the Pope, by whose Means, it was thought, they had with all Secrefy agreed with the King of France to stand neuter. They certainly pressed his Holiness to bring into Italy Ten Thousand Swiss, offering to contribute Half the Expence, that they might not be under any Consternation at the Victory of either Party. The Pope approved of the Scheme, but for Want of Money, and on account of the Pope's natural Indolence, it was executed fo flowly, a long Time was confumed before he fent into Switzerland the Bishop of Veruli, to dispose the Helvetic Body to grant his Request.

to the world not be included to the

A. D. 1525. THE Difficulties in Pavia were, in fome measure, removed by the Vigilance A Contriand Industry of the Viceroy and other fend Mo-Commanders; for some Merchants being Pavia. fent to the French Camp to sell Wine, Antonio da Leva, at the Sign agreed upon, fent a Party that Way with Orders to begin skirmishing; which creating a Noise, the Merchants, in the Confusion, staved a large Butt of Wine, and taking out a small Pot, which was concealed in it, containing Three Thousand Ducats, ran with it into Pavia. The Receipt of this small Sum made the Germans sensible how difficult it was to supply them with Money, and made them more patient; and the Death of their Leader now happening, fo opportunely that it was believed he was poisoned by Antonio da Leva, removed the main Fomenter of the

In the mean time the Marquis of Pescara laid Siege to Casciano, guarded by Fisty Horse, and Four Hundred Italian Foot, which he obliged to surrender at M 3 Discre-

Tumults.

A. D. Discretion. But Bourbon being now arrived with the German Foot, nothing else retarded the Generals, anxious for the Danger of Pavia, but the extream Want of Money; for they not only had not a Sufficiency to pay the Army, but laboured under great Difficulties how to raise what was necessary for moving the Ammunition and Artillery. In fo great a Diffress, by flattering the Soldiery with the Honour and Riches they would acquire by gaining a Victory, reminding them of their Profits in former Battles, and raising their natural Indignation against the French, they prevailed on the Spanish Foot to promise that they would Marquis of Pescara serve for a Month without demanding

prevails on the Foot to wait for

any Money, and the Germans to be fatisfied with what would barely fuffice their Pay, for purchasing necessary Food. But the greatest Difficulty was how to content the Men at Arms and Light Horse, that were quartered in the Villages of the Ghiaradadda and Cremonese. They had not received for a long Time any Pay, and represented that it was impossible for them to follow the Army without Money

Money to provide for themselves and A. D.:
their Horses. They complained that
their Service was less valued than that of
the Foot, amongst whom, at times, some
Money had been distributed, but none to
them for a long time past; yet they were
not inserior to them either in Courage or
Fidelity, but much their Superiors in
Birth and past Merits.

THE Marquis of Pescara allayed this Uneafiness by going to their Quarters, and fometimes excusing Matters, sometimes comforting, and fometimes reproving them, represented to them in a winning Manner, that the more they were illustrious for their Virtue and Courage, the more they ought to strive not to be outdone in their Fidelity and Love to Cafar, whose Glory and Honour were not only at Stake at this Juncture, but also all his Dominions in Italy: That if they fincerely defired his Grandeur, and earnestly wished him well, they could never have a better Opportunity of manifesting their Sentiments; and, fince they had so often expofed their Lives for his Service, with what Shame M 4

a. D. Shame must they be branded, if, by an unheard of Resolution, they should resuse to serve for the Want of a few dirty Pence.

and upon The Persuasions and Authority of the the Horse. Marquis had such Effect, that they agreed to serve a Month, and be contented with a very small Portion of their Pay.

THE Army then being affembled, and computed to contain Seven Hundred Men at Arms, the same Number of Light Horse, One Thousand Italian Foot, and above Sixteen Thousand between Spaniards and Germans, they set out from Lodi the 25th Day of January, and arrived the same Evening at Marignano, as if they intended to go to Milan, in hopes that either the King, in Fear of losing the City, might break up the Siege of Pavia, or that the French Soldiery would abandon Milan; but after they had passed the River Lambro, near Vidigalso, they directed their March to Pavia.

THE King paid for Thirteen Hundred Lances, Ten Thousand Swiss, Four Thousand Germans, Five Thousand French.

French, and Seven Thousand Italians; A. D. but by the Negligence of the Ministers, and Frauds of the Officers, the Number of the Foot was much less. Teodoro da Trivulzi guarded Milan with Three Hundred Lances, Six Thousand Foot between Grisons and Vallese, and Three Thousand French; but as soon as the Imperial Army moved towards Pavia, the King, ordering but Two Thousand Foot to be left in Milan, recalled the rest to strengthen his Army. On the Enemy's March the King held a Coun-The King cil of War, in which Tremouille, Palisse, Tho-holds a mas de Foix, and several other general Council, Officers, perfuaded the King to break up the Siege of Pavia, and post his Army either at the Monastery of the Carthusians, or at Binasco, which were strong Situations (as there are feveral in that Country, rendered so by the Canals cut for overflowing the Meadows) demonstrating is persuathat by this means they might foon obtain ded to raise a Victory without Blood or Danger, be-of Pavia; cause the Imperial Army, being destitute of Money, could not keep together many Days, but would be obliged to break

the free to the single of

redemos.

A. D. up, or quarter dispersed in different Towns. That the Germans in Pavia, lest they should be charged with making their Want of Pay an Excuse for covering their Cowardice, had, for feveral Months, bore patiently that Inconvenience, but would, as foon as the Siege should be raised, demand Payment; and as their Commanders had neither Money nor any apparent Hopes, with which they might, tho' vainly, feed them, they would excite fome dangerous Tumult: That nothing else kept the Enemy together, but the Hopes of coming to an immediate Engagement, which being put out of their Power. and the War protracted, they would be brought into Difficulties and Confusion They laid before his Majesty the Danger of being situated between a Town garrisoned with Five Thousand Foot of a most warlike Nation, and an Army marching to his Succour, powerful for its Number, and for the Valour and Experience of its Leaders and Soldiers, elated with their former Victories, and placing their Hopes in a Battle: That no Infamy attended a Retreat made by Prudence, Prudence, and not out of Fear; when made A. D. to avoid leaving to the Power of Chance, 1525. what is certain, and when the speedy End put to the War shall demonstrate to the whole World the Reasonableness of this Counsel: And no Victory could certainly be more advantageous, honourable, or glorious, than that which is gained without Loss or Bloodshed: That the chief Praise in the Art of War confifted more in a General's not exposing his Army to unneceffary Dangers, and in rendering vain the Artifices and Defigns of the Enemy, than in fighting bloody Battles. The fame Counsel was given to the King by the Pope, to whom the Marquis of Pescara, under Apprehensions from so great a Poverty in the Camp, had before fignified that the Difficulties which Cafar's Army laboured under were fuch that he almost despaired of Success. But the King, whose Resolutions were intirely governed by the Counsels of the Admiral, laying a greater Stress on vain Rumours, and on every flight and variable Accident, than on Events of Moment and Importance, thought it would be a great Reflection on his Honour.

A. D. nour, that an Army, in which he was pre-1525. fent in Person, should retire with a Show of Fear at the Approach of an Enemy. He let himself also be worked upon by a Suggestion, than which nothing can be more imprudent in a General, that he was in a manner bound to act in Conformity to some idle Words he had dropped, because he had often publickly declared, and fignified all over Italy, that he would sooner chuse Death than retire from before Pavia without taking it. He trusted in the Easiness of fortifying his Camp in such a Manner, as it should not be penetrated by any sudden Assault. He hoped that, on account of the Want of Money, every little Delay would diforder the Enemy, who having no Means to purchase Provisions, and neceffitated to plunder the Country for Subfistence, would not be able to keep their Camp. He hoped also to obstruct the Conveyance of Provisions to their Camp, as the greatest Part he knew must come from Cremona, because he had taken anew into his Service Giovan Lodovico Pallavicino, with a View that

that he might either seize on Cremona, in A. D. which was a small Garrison, or at least 1525: secure all the Avenues by which Provisions might come from that City. These Reasons confirmed the King in his obstinate persevering in the Siege of Pavia, and to prevent the Entrance of Succours into that Town he altered the Disposition of his Army. The King himself was at first quartered on the Side of Borgorato, at the Abbey of San Lanfranco, fituated half a Mile beyond Pavia, beyond the Road that leads from Pavia to Milan, and on the River Tefino, near the Place where it had been attempted to divide the Palisse with the Van and Waters. Swiss lay at the Ronche in the Suburbs, near the Abbey of Santa Justina, and had erected Fortifications at the Churches of San Piero, Sant' Apollonia, and San Girolamo; and Giovanni de' Medici was posted with his Horse and Foot at the Church of San Salvadore. But, on Advice of the March of the Enemy from Lodi, the King removed his Quarters to the Park, at the Palace of Mirabello, on this Side Pavia, leaving the Grisons at

A. D. San Lanfranco, but without altering the Position of his Van. At last he changed once more his Quarters, and lodged at the Monasteries of San Pagolo, and San Facopo, convenient Places, on Eminences overlooking the Country, very near Pavia, but a little out of the Park. Monf. D' Alencon was removed with the Rear to Mirabello, and for Conveniency of fuccouring one another Part of the Park Wall was broke down. The Camp extended downwards as far as the Tesino. and upwards to the Road that leads to Milan. By this Disposition Pavia was furrounded, and as the French had the Command of the Rivers Gravalone and Tefino, and of the Torretta which lies over against Darsina, the Imperialists could not get into Pavia without croffing the Tefino, or making their Way through the Park. The whole Care of managing the Army lay on the Admiral, the King wasting the greatest Part of his Time either in Idleness or in vain Pleasures, with out finding Leifure for Bufiness or serious Thoughts, holding in Contempt all other Commanders, confulting only with the Admiral.

Admiral, and hearkening also to Anne de A. D. Montmorency, and Philip Chabot, Lord 1525. of Brione, great Favourites, but of little Experience in military Affairs. Nor did the Numbers in the King's Army answer common Report, nor even what the King imagined himself. For one Part of the Cavalry was with the Duke of Albany, another was left with Teodoro Trivulzio in Garrison at Milan, and many having their Quarters situated in the neighbouring Towns and Villages, there never were constantly in the Camp above Eight Hundred Lances at a Time. And as to the Foot, tho', thro' the Frauds of the Captains, and Negligence of the royal Ministers, his Majesty paid for an unreasonable Number, yet they were far short of what was imagined by the Public. The Italian Officers, more than the rest, were concerned in the Cheat; for, tho' they received large Sums for great Bodies of Men, they had but small Numbers to pay. The same was the Case with the French Foot; and Two Thousand Vallese quartered at San Salvadore, between San Lanfranco and Pavia, had been fuddenly

A. D. denly attacked by the Besieged, and dis-

In this Situation of Affairs the Imperial Generals, as foon as they had paffed the Lambro, approached the Castle of Sant' Angelo, which being situated between Lodi and Pavia, if not in their Possession, would give great Impediment to the Conveyance of Provisions from Lodi to the Army. Pirro, Brother of Federigo da Bozzole, guarded this Place with Two Hundred Horse, and Eight Hundred Foot, and the King a few Days before, unwilling to expose the Garrison to Danger, had sent this Federigo, with Jacques Chabanes, to view the Strength of the Castle, who reported that the Garrison was sufficient for its Defence. But Experience proved their Mistake, for as foon as Ferdinando Davalo approached the Town with the Spanish Foot, and had ruined the Defences with the Artillery, the Besieged terrified retimed to the Fort, and a few Hours after agreed that Pirro, Emilio Cavriana, and Three Sons of Febus da Gonzaga, should remain

THE WARS IN ITALY.

their Arms and Horses, might depart on their Parole of not serving against Casar for one Month.

193

THE King had fent for Two Thousand Italian Foot of those from Marseilles, which were in Savona. These Troops being arrived in the Territory of Alessandria, near the River Urbe, Gasparo Maino, who was in Garrison in Alessandria with Seventeen Hundred Foot, fallying forth with a few of them, fell upon the Italians, and finding them weary with their Journey and unguarded, because they had no Suspicion of being attacked, broke them with Ease, and they fled to Castellaccio, where soon after they furrendered with Seventeen Colours. Nor had Lodovico Pallavicino better Success in his Expedition: That Officer entered Cafal Maggiore with Four Hundred Horse, and Two Thousand Foot; and the Town having no Walls he made some Fortifications, and soon after taking Possession of San Giovanni in Croce, he began from that Place to make Excursions all over the Country, making VOL. VIII.

A. D. making it his particular Bufiness to cut off Provisions. Wherefore Francesco Sforza, who was at Cremona, with great Difficulty, got together Fourteen Hundred Foot, which, with a few Horse of Ridolfo da Camerino, and those of his own Guards, he sent, under Alessandro Bentivoglio, towards Cafal Maggiore. When they approached that Place, Pallavicino, on the 19th of February, truffing to his Superiority in Numbers, without waiting for Francesco Rangone, who was expected with a Supply both of Horse and Foot, sallied forth and attacked Bentivoglio; but whilst he was rallying his Men, who were retiring, he was thrown from his Horse, made a Prisoner, and all his Troops were broken and dispersed.

To these Missortunes was added an Accident of great Importance to the French: For Gian Jacopo de' Medici, of Milan, Governor of Mus, where he had been once committed by the Duke of Milan for the Murder of Monsignorino Visconti, having, in the Night Time, laid an Ambush near the Fort of Chiavenna, situated

THE WARS IN ITALY.

195

situated on an Eminence at the Head of the Lake, at some Distance from the Houses of the Town, seized on the Governor as he had been walking out to take the Air, and carrying him immediately before the Gate of the Fort, and threatening to kill him, prevailed on his Wife to deliver up the Fort; then suddenly, at the Head of Three Hundred Men which he had placed in another Ambush, entered thro' the Fort into the Town, and took it. This Accident gave fuch Umbrage to the Leagues of the Grisons that a few Days before the Battle they recalled the Six Thousand Grisons that were in the King's Army de rol somet driw about without engaging to act offenlively again!

ABOUT this Time the Chevalier Cafale came to the Imperial Camp, fent
thither by the King of England, with
mighty Promises; for that King began
to grow envious of the Prosperity of
the King of France, and, being also provoked that the French had taken some
English Ships in the Scottish Seas, threatened to make War in France, and

N 2

196 A. D.

was defirous of supporting the Imperial Army; and for that Purpose had commissioned Pacey, who was at Trento, to go to Venice, and infift, in his Name, on that Senate's Performance of the Articles of the League, to which he thought he might the more eafily induce them, because Casar had put the Investiture of Francesco Sforza in the Hands of the Viceroy, with Orders to dispose of it according to the Occurrences of Affairs: King Henry also commisfioned his Ambassador at Rome to sollicit the Pope to favour Cælar's Cause, from which he excused himself on account of the late Convention he had made with France for his own Security. without engaging to act offensively against Cæsar. He complained also that, after the Return of the Army from Provence, Twenty Days had passed before he could be informed of their Defigns, and whether they had a Mind to defend or abandon the State of Milan. Barness and Wale from the Van Ginglie

1525.

Bur now the Treaties and Negotiation of Princes, and the Diligence and Sollicitude of Ambassadors were become of little Importance; for the Armies now approaching, the Refult of the whole War, and of the Difficulties and Dangers which had been undergone for fo many Months, were reduced to the Fortune of a few Hours. For the Imperial Army, after the Acquisition of Sant' Angelo, still advancing, encamped the 1st Day of February at Vistarino, and the next Day at Lardirago, and Sant' Alesso, beyond the little River Lolona, Four Miles from Pavia, and Three from the French Camp. On the 3d of February they came and encamped in Prati, towards the Gate of Santa Justina, extending themselves between Prati, Trelevero, and la Motta, and in a Wood near San Lazzaro, which Posts were Two Miles and a Half distant from Pavia, and a Mile from the Van of the French, and Half a Mile from the Ramparts and Ditches of their Camp, and were so near that the Artillery on both N 3 Sides

THE HISTORY OF

108

A. D. Sides did considerable Execution. The Imperialists had taken Possession of Belgiojoso, and all the Towns in the Country behind them except San Colombano, which continued in the Hands of the French, the' blocked up so closely that none could fiir out. They had found great Quantities of Provisions in Sant' Angelo and Belgiojoso, and, that they might be more plentifully supplied, they endeavoured to get the Command of the Tefino, as they had already of the Po, by which they obstructed the Convoys to the French Camp. Santa Croce was in their Possession, but they did not chuse to quarter Men in the Charter-House, which had been abandoned by the King, when he removed to Mirabello, lest the Provisions which must have been conveyed thither might be in Danger. The French were in Pofsession of San Lazzaro, but the Enemy's Fire obliged them to quit it.

BETWEEN both Camps was a running Stream called Vernacula, which has its Rife in the Park, and, passing between San

San Lazzaro and San Piero in Verge, falls into the Tesino. The Imperialists intent on passing this Brook, as a Matter of great Importance, that they might advance with the less Difficulty, met with a stout Defence from the French, who were affisted by the Depth of the Channel, and the Height of the Banks, which, with the Care that every Particular took to fortify his own Quarter, rendered the Passage very difficult. The King's Quarters in Front, in his Rear, and on the left Flank, had thick Ramparts, furrounded with Ditches, and Arengthened with Redoubts, the right Flank being defended by the Wall of the Park, which was reputed very strong. The like Fortifications furrounded the Camp of the Imperialists, who were in Possession of all the Territory of San Lazzaro, towards Belgiojoso, down to the Po, and by that Situation had Plenty of Provisions. The Ramparts of the two Camps were but Forty Paces afunder, and their Redoubts at so little a Distance, that they were within Musquetfhot.

N 4 This

200

CINT

THIS was the Disposition of both Armies on the 8th Day of February; both Sides were continually skirmishing, but each kept themselves in their strong Camp, not chusing to fight to Disadvantage. The Imperialists imagined they had already done great Matters by approaching fo near Pavia, as to be enabled, in case of a Battle, to have the Affiltance of the Garrison. In Pavia there was great Want of Powder, wherefore the Imperialists fent Fifty Men on Horseback, each carrying behind him a Bag of Powder: These, in the Night-time, entering the Milan Road, waited there till the Imperialists. gave an Alarm to the French Camp, and then conveyed themselves safely into Pavia, from whence Antonio da Leva made frequent Sallies, infesting the Enemy by different Ways. One Day he attacked and broke the Garrisons of Borgorato, and San Lanfranco, and carried off Three Pieces of Artillery, and feveral Waggons of Ammunition.

A. D.

15254 In this State of Affairs one cannot well express the Vigilance, Industry and Fatigues both of Body and Mind of the Marquis of Pescara, who, Day and Night, never ceased to annoy the Enemy by Skirmishes, Alarms, and casting up new Works, always advancing by Trenches, Ditches, and Redoubts. The Imperialists were at Work on a Platform upon the Canal, and the French greatly annoying the Workmen with Two Pieces of Artillery planted at San Lazzaro, they pointed their Artillery that Way, and ruining the Place constrained them to abandon it. The French suffered much from the Artillery of the said Platform, and likewise from another erected at Pavia; and the Spaniards fortified themselves in such a Manner with Redoubts and Ramparts, and were fo well disposed, that they annoyed very much the French Camp, without receiving much Hurt themselves. The French therefore changed the Polition of their Artillery, in order to take the Spaniards in Flank, whilst they were vigomon

A. D. vigorously continuing their Works, in order to gain Ground Inch by Inch. This Polition necessarily occasioned frequent Skirmishes, in which the French were almost constantly worsted. All this While neither of the Parties intermitted their Operations, on account of the Negotiation of a Truce, of which the Pope's Nuncios in both Armies were continually treating: Nor would the King give any Attention to his intimate Friends, or to the Pope, who often counselled him, in order to avoid fo great a Danger, to decamp with his Army from Pavia, because, on account of the Enemy's Want of Money, he would necessarily obtain a Victory in a very short Time, and without Blood.

On the 17th Day of February the Garrison sallied out and attacked the Regiment of Giovanni de' Medici, who gallantly repulsed them, and returning afterwards to shew the Admiral the Spot of Ground where the Action happened, whilst he was pointing out the Particulars, by a Volley of Shot fired

THE WARS IN ITALY.

203

from a House, he received a Wound A. D. in the Heel, which broke the Bone, 1525. to the King's great Concern, and it was necessary to have him carried to Piacenza. On account of this Accident the Skirmishes were not so frequent and vigorous, and the Fierceness of the French in their Affualts was immediately allayed; whilst those in Pavia made every Day bolder Sallies, and having burnt the Abbey of San Lanfranco, were become too hard for the French, who feemed very much dispirited. The Marquis of Pescara on the 20th, before Day, with Three Thousand Spanish Foot, attacked the Enemy's Redoubts, and mounting the Ramparts, killed above Five Hundred Foot, and brought off three Pieces of Cannon.

AT last the Imperial Generals, being sensible they could no longer remain in that Situation for Want of Money, and considering that, if they retired, not only Pavia would be lost, but that there remained no Hopes of desending the other Places they possessed in the Dut-

to Arms making at Feint

A. D. chy of Milan, full also of Confidence of obtaining a Victory thro' the Valour of their Soldiers, and relying on the Multitude of Disorders in the French Army, many of the Enemy's Foot being gone off, and the Number remaining not answering by far to those paid for, on the Night before the 25th of February, a Day dedicated according to Christian Rites, to the Apostle Matthias, and Cæsar's Birth-Day, took a Resolution to march to Mirabello, where some Companies of the Enemy's Horse and Foot were posted, with an Intent, if the French did not move, to raise the Siege of Pavia, and if they moved to try the Fortune of a Battle. With this View, on the Beginning of the Night, to fatigue the Enemy, they often beat to Arms, making a Feint of attacking them on the Side of the Po, at the Tesino, and at San Lazzaro. At Midnight an Order was issued for all the Soldiers to put on a White Shirt over their Arms, as a Sign to distinguish themselves from the French. The Horse formed themselves into Two Squadrons, and and the Foot into Four Bodies; the A. D. first of which was composed of Six Thousand Germans, Spaniards and Italians in equal Proportions under the Marquis del Guasto; the second consisted only of Spaniards, under the Marquis of Pescara, the third and fourth were Germans, commanded by the Viceroy and the Duke of Bourbon. Arriving at the Park Wall some Hours before Day. by the united Help of Bricklayers and Soldiers, they threw down Sixty Braces of the Wall. The first Body then marched to Mirabello, and the rest towards the French Camp. But the King, on Notice that the Enemy had entered the Park, imagining they were proceeding to Mirabello, marched out of his Entrenchments in order to fight in the open Field on even Ground, chusing rather to fight there on account of the Superiority of his Horse. At the fame time he ordered his Artillery to be pointed towards the Enemy, which taking them in Flank did some Damage to the Rear. The Imperialists in the mean time attacked the King's Squadron

A. D. dron, which used to be commonly the main Battle, but by the March of the Squadrons was become the Van, where the King, fighting very gallantly, fuftained the Shock of the Enemy, who however, with their Fire Arms obliged those about him to give Way, till the Swifs arriving, and the Cavalry charging them in Flank, the Spaniards were repulsed. But the Viceroy, called by the Marquis of Pescara to his Assistance, and coming up with the German Foot, the Swiss were easily broken with great Slaughter, their Valour no way correfponding that Day with the Courage they had shown in former Battles. The King in the mean time, having been with a great Number of his Men at Arms in the Midst of the Battle, and endeavoured to stop the Flight of his Men, after a long Combat, his Horse killed under him, himself wounded, tho' but slightly, in the Face, and in the Hand, and

fallen to the Ground, was taken by fome Soldiers, who did not know him. But when the Viceroy came up he discovered himself to him, who, after

DO TO

kiffing

THE WARS IN ITALY.

207

kiffing his Hand with profound Reve- A. D. rence, received him Prisoner in the Name of the Emperor. By this Time Gualto with the first Squadron had broke the French Horse posted at Mirabello, and Leva, who, as fome fay, had, for this Purpose, demolished so much of the Wall of Pavia, that One Hundred and Fifty Horse might fally out abreast, attacked the Enemy's Rear, in such a manner that the whole Army betook themselves to Flight, but were all intercepted and plundered, except the Rear of the Horse under Alençon, which retired intire at the Beginning of the Fight.

It was a received Opinion that the French, between killed and drowned in their Flight in the Tesino, lost above Eight Thousand Men, and about Twenty of the first Rank of the French Nobility, amongst whom were the Admiral, Jacques Chabanes, Palisse, Tremouille, the Grand Ecuyer, Aubigny, Boysy, and L'Escud, who expired of his Wounds soon after he was taken. Amongst

of Navarre, the Bastard of Savoy, Montmorency, St. Paul, Brion, de l'Aval,
Chandiou, Imbercourt, Galeazzo Visconti,
Federigo da Bozzole, Bernabo Visconti,
and an infinite Number of Gentlemen
and almost all the General Officers
which were not killed. Girolamo Leandro, the Pope's Nuncio, was also
taken, but released by Order of
the Viceroy. Of the Prisoners St. Paul,
and Federigo da Bozzole were committed to the Castle of Pavia, but soon
after, by corrupting the Spanish Guards,
found Means to make their Escape.

OF the Imperialists were killed about Seven Hundred, but no general Officer except Ferrando Castriota, Marquis of Sant' Angelo: The Plunder was so great, that no Soldiers in Italy were ever richer. The Marquis of Pescara received Two Wounds, one of them with a Musquet, and Antonio da Leva was slightly wounded in his Leg. Of so great an Army Alençon only, with Four Hundred Lances which he commanded

manded in the Rear, faved themselves A. D. without fighting, being neither attacked nor purfued; but leaving behind them their Carriages, they rode with full Speed into Piedmont. As foon as the News of this Victory reached Milan, Teodoro Trivulzi. who was left there with Four Hundred Lances, departed thence towards Musocco, and was followed by all the Soldiers, in scattered Bodies; by which means, the same Day the Battle was fought, the whole Dutchy of Milan was freed from the French. The Day after the Victory the King was conducted to the Castle of Pizzichitone, because the Duke, for his own Security, would by no means confent that he should be conducted to the Castle of Milan, and except his Liberty, for that was guarded with the utmost Care, he was, in all other Respects, treated and honoured as a King.

The End of the Fifteenth Book.

Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

The WARS in ITALY.

****** BOOK XVI.

THE CONTENTS.

The Victory of Charles alarms the Italians. Tumult in Siena. Francis, refusing to fign the Articles offered him, is carried Prisoner into Spain. The Duke of Milan and others conspire against Casar. The Marquis of Pescara discovers the Plot, and gets Possession of Part of the Dutchy of Milan. Conditions and Ceremony with which the King of France is Set at Liberty.



D. HE French Army being thus not only overthrown by the Imperialists, in the Battle fought in the Park of Pavia, but the most

Christian

Christian King made Prisoner, and the 4. D. greatest Part of the Officers and the French Nobility killed or taken near their King, the Swiss, who had hitherto made War in Italy with so great a Reputation, having behaved fo basely, the Residue of the Army, after losing their Camp, making no Stop till they arrived at the Foot of the Mountains, and, what mightily added to the Reputation of the Conquerors, the Cæsarean Generals having acquired so memorable a Victory with fo little Blood on their Side, it is not to be expressed what an Astonishment so great an Event excited in all the Potentates of Italy, who, finding themselves in a manner wholy difarmed, were struck with the greatest Terror at the Thoughts of Cæsar's having so very powerful an Army in the Field, without an Enemy to oppose him. Nor were their Fears fo much allayed by what many reported of Cafar's good Disposition and inclination to Peace, without any Defire of usurping the States of others as they were increased on the Conside-0 2 ration

A. D. ration of the Danger that, moved either by Ambition, a Passion natural to all Princes, or by that Infolence which commonly attends Victories, and besides instigated by the forward Zeal of those who had the management of his Affairs in Italy, or, laftly, stimulated by his Council and whole Court, he would not neglect fo fair an Opportunity, of itself sufficient to warm the coldest Disposition, to turn his whole Thoughts on making himself Lord of all Italy; especially as they were not ignorant how easy it was for any great Prince, and much more for a Roman Emperor, to justify their Undertakings under Pretences which might have the Appearance of Reason and Honour. This Fear did not only seize on those Potentates that were of leffer Force and Authority, but even the Pope and the Venetians feemed to be more alarmed than the rest. The last, not only from a Consciousness of having, without any just Cause, failed in fulfilling the Articles of their Confederacy, but much more on the Remembrance of the antient Animofities.

fities, and frequent Provocations passed A. D. between them and the House of Austria, and of the vexatious Wars in which they had but a few Years before been engaged with Maximilian, when the Name and Memory of the almost dormant Pretensions of the Rights of the Empire to their Dominions on the Terra Firma were strongly revived; and because they were also sensible that whoever aimed at establishing his Grandeur in Italy must of necessity apply himself to depress the too exorbitant Power of their Republick. The Pope had Reason for Apprehensions because, fetting aside the Majesty of the Pontificate, which had fuffered frequent Eclipses from the Greatness of the Emperors, even in those antient Times when a greater Reverence was paid by the World to the Apostolic See, he was in every other Respect exposed to Injuries; for he was disarmed, without Money, and the Ecclefiastic State, in which there are but few fortified Towns, was in a very weak Condition, the People neither united nor steady in their Affections to 03. their

the whole Dominion of the Church divided into the two Factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines, the latter, from an inveterate and almost natural Impression, inclined to the Imperial Authority, and the City of Rome, above all others, weak, and infected with these Seeds of Contention.

To this must be added Clement's Sollicitude for the Affairs of Florence. which depending on him, and concerning his own Grandeur, as well as the antient Splendor of his Family, he had their Interests perhaps as much at Heart, as those of the Church. Nor was it less easy to make Alterations in that State than in the others; for the City of Florence, after the Expulsion of the Medici in the Passage of King Charles, having, under the Name of Liberty, tasted the Sweets of popular Government for the Space of Eighteen Years, was become diffatisfied at the Return of that Family, and few of the Citizens were heartily pleased at their Power. The Pope was also extreamly

treamly apprehensive that to such in- A. D: viting Opportunities would be added a 1525. strong Inclination to fall upon that State. But there were Grounds besides to fear that this Inclination would not abate, not so much because the less powerful is never wholly fecure from the Ambition of the more potent, as from Apprehension that on several accounts his Name was at that Time become odious to Cafar. He reasoned within himself, that tho', during the Reign of Leo, and after his own Promotion to the Cardinalship, he had taken a World of Pains for advancing the Grandeur of Cæfar, and that tho Leo and himself, with excessive Cost and Danger, had opened the Way to fo great a Power in Italy, and that after his own Assumption to the Pontificate he had furnished Money to his Generals whilst the Admiral was in Italy, and procured a Contribution from the Florentines, and had not recalled from the Army the Troops of the Church and of that Republic, yet, either on confidering that it belonged to his Office to act

A. D. as a Father and common Pastor between Christian Princes, and to be rather a Peacemaker than a Fomenter of Wars, or beginning, tho' late, to be alarmed at so much Grandeur, he had betimes retired from following his Fortune, and therefore would not be perfuaded to renew the Confederacy made for the Defence of Italy by his Predecessor. And when the Year before Cafar's Army with the Duke of Bourbon had entered Provence, he had not consented to affift it with Money, which tho' it had given no just Cause for Complaint to the Imperial Ministers, his Holiness not being bound by the League of Adrian to act in Concert against the French in the Wars of Italy, yet this Manner of Proceeding laid a Foundation for their thinking that he no longer heartily concurred in Calar's Interest, and, on the contrary, greatly lessened the Opinion which they had hitherto entertained of his Faithfulness; acting like Men who, led only by Passion or Necessity, refented it as an Injury, if others did not lend the same Assistance towards carrying on their

their particular Enterprises, concerted A. D. 1525. with a View to seize on France, as theyhad before done to Undertakings of universal Concern, set on foot with a Pretence of securing Italy from the French Power. But these Complaints and Diffatisfactions begun and discovered themfelves, when the King of France marched on his Expedition against Milan; for tho? the Pope, as he afterwards wrote in his querulous Brief to Cæsar, had privately supplied the French with a Sum of Money in their Retreat from Marfeilles, yet he had never afterwards held any confidential Correspondence with them: But as foon as the King had taken Milan, feeing his Affairs in fo prosperous a Condition, he had indeed entered with him into Articles, tho' he excused it to Casar by alledging that his Generals, at that Juncture, not having, for Twenty Days together, let him into any of their Defigns, despairing of the Defence of that State, and under Apprehensions also for Naples, and the Duke of Albany pushing forwards with his Troops towards Tuscany, he had been obliged

A. D. obliged to think of Measures for his own 1525. Security. The Regard however to his own Danger had not so much influenced him as not to make him agree on Conditions tending as much to Cæsar's Interest as his own, and not to despise the immense Offers made him by the King of France to intice him into a Confederacy with him.

Bur his Excuses had not been sufficient to quiet the Minds of Cæsar and his Ministers, who were under great Concern, not so much because they faw themselves wholly deprived of any Hopes of future Subfidies from him, as because they doubted that the Capitulation contained fomething more than an Obligation to a bare Neutrality, because they thought that on all Occafions he had spoken too favourably of the French Enterprise, and were also apprehensive that he had drawn in the Venetians to follow his Example, the Truth of which was afterwards confirmed by Letters and Briefs found in the King's Tent after the Battle. the

the last Place these Jealousies and Dis- A. D. fatisfactions were greatly increased, when 1525. the Pope permitted the Ammunition, furnished by the Duke of Ferarra to the French King at the Siege of Pavia, to pass through his Dominions, and to be forwarded by the Affistance of his Subjects, but much more at the March of the Duke of Albany on the Enterprise against the Kingdom of Naples; for he was not only treated as a Friend through all the Ecclesiastic and Florentine States, but also stopped many Days about Siena, in order to reform, at the Request of the Pontiff, the Government of that City. And tho' this Stay protracted the March of the Duke to the Kingdom of Naples, and had been procured by Clement principally for that Purpose, because he would have been very uneasy to see the same Person Lord of Naples and Milan, yet the Imperialifts had put fuch a Conftruction on this Step, as to infer that the Convention between him and the King of France contained fomething more than a fimple Engagement not to act offenA. D. offenfively against each other. On these 1525. Confiderations the Pope had just Reason to fear, not only, like all the rest of the Italian Powers, that, when proper Time and Occasion offered, he should be attacked by the Imperialists, but that the State of the Church, or that of the Florentines, would be immediately invaded without waiting for a fairer Opportunity. And this Fear was increased when the Duke of Albany, on advice of the King's Misfortune, having retired, for his Security, from Monte Rotondo towards Bracciano, and ordered thither One Hundred and Fifty of his Horse from Rome (which the Pope, on receiving Intelligence that the Duke of Sella and the Imperialists were preparing to fall upon them, caused to be escorted thither by his own Guards) it happened that Four Hundred Horse and Twelve Hundred Foot of the Troops of the Orfini, in their March from Sermoneta, being pursued by Giulio Colonna with a good Body of Horse and Foot, were routed by him at the Abby of the Three Fountains, and flying

flying into Rome for Shelter thro' the Gates of San Pagolo and San Sebastiano, the Colonnas entered with them, and in Campo di Fiore, and other Parts of the Town put some of them to the Sword, which causing a great Tumult the whole City rose up in Arms, to the great Terror of the Pontiss, which was succeeded by no less Indignation at the little Reverence and Respect paid to his Authority.

But in the Midst of all these Doubts and extream Anxiety of Mind, his Holiness was seasonably relieved by Encouragements and Offers from the Venetians, who, being equally affected with the same Teror, endeavoured, with the most earnest Instances, to persuade him to join with them in sending immediately for Ten Thousand Swiss into Italy, and enlist a large Body of Italians to make a Resistance against so great a Danger; promising at the same time, according to their Custom, to do, for their Part, much more than they intended to perform. They represented

A. D. to the Pontiff that the German Foot who affisted at the Defence of Pavia had not for feveral Months received their Pay, and finding after the Victory the same Difficulties in their Payments had made a Mutiny, and feizing on the Artillery had fortified themfelves in Pavia: That on the same account all the rest of Cæsar's Army were become tumultuous, and would grow so more and more every Day, the Commanders not being able to pay them: That on these Grounds, if his Holiness joined with their Republic in making a powerful Armament, if they mutually put their Dominions in a State of Defence, and improved the Opportunity, the Imperialists, involved in those Difficulties, and under a Neceffity of constanly keeping a large Body of Forces as a Guard on their Royal Prisoner, would fall into Disorders of themselves. Besides it was not to be doubted but that the Princess Regent in whom the whole Power of the French Government resided, ardently desirous of such a Conjunction, would.

would, at their Request, not only order A. D. the Duke of Albany immediately to haften to their Affistance with his own Troops, and the Four Hundred Lances of the Rear, who had retired from the Battle, and faved themselves, but would, with the Concurrence of the whole French Nation, contribute large Sums of Money for the Safety of Italy, as knowing that on this Liberality depended, in a great measure, the Hopes of recovering her Son: That this Refolution was certainly the best if taken speedily, but Delay might enable Casar to remedy the Disorders in his Army, and fo much the more as any Potentate who did not resolve to put himself in Arms would be under a Necessity of compounding with, and furnishing him with Money. and confequently be himself the Instrument of freeing him from all his Difficulties, and establishing himself in a State of perpetual Subjection. They also gave him Hopes that their Example would be followed by the Duke of Ferrara, who, both on account of his antient DependenA. D. cies on the French, and the Affistance he had given the King in that War, was not without very great Apprehensions: And his Conjunction appeared of no small Importance, on account of the great Conveniency of his State in the Wars of Lombardy, and because the City of Ferrara was very strong, and extreamly well stored with Ammunition and Artillery, and, as it was reported, very rich in Money.

NEITHER the Hopes of coming off victorious in so difficult an Enterprise, nor the Consideration of Danger at a confiderable Distance, for which Time often produces Remedies unthought of, would have inclined Clement to give Ear to these Arguments, if the Fears of a prefent Attack had not induced him to chuse rather to expose himself to a less certain Danger, than to a Danger which appeared greater and more present. The Negotiations therefore were so long carried on between them, till there remained nothing to do but only to draw up the Articles in Writing,

Writing, it was expected every Hour A. D. that a Convention would be fettled;

fo that the Pope, looking upon the Treaty as concluded, posted away Girolamo Ghinuccio of Siena, Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, to the King of England, to use all his Dexterity for perfuading him to oppose the exorbitant Greatness of Cæsar, when opportunely arrived the Archbishop of Capua, his antient Secretary and Counsellor, who had for many Years been of great Authority with him.

This Prelate, as soon as he had heard of the Victory of the Imperialists, had set out for the Camp, to wait on Don Carlo di Lanoia, Viceroy of Naples, and having informed himself of his Intentions, immediately rode Post to the Pontiss, carrying with him certain Hopes of an Agreement. For the Viceroy and the other Generals had at that Time two Things that employed their Thoughts; one was, to provide Money for satisfying the Army, at which they were in very great Consusion, for Vol. VIII. P

Want of Money to pay the Soldiers; the other was, to conduct the Person of the King of France to a Place where the Difficulty of guarding him would not keep them in continual Uneafiness; and these two Points being well settled they imagined that Affairs would be in fuch a Situation as to put it in their Power always to accomplish their Defigns. Wherefore they defired an Accommodation with the Pope, proposing to draw out of him a large Sum of Money; and to dispose him to a more ready Compliance by putting him in a Consternation, and to ease the Dutchy of Milan, which was much exhausted, of the Burden of quartering Soldiers, they had fent Four Hundred Men at Arms and Eight Thousand Germans to take up their Quarters in the Piacentine, not as Enemies, but sometimes pretending that the Dutchy of Milan could not maintain fo great a Number of Troops, and sometimes threatening to make them pass into the Territory of Rome, in order to find out the Duke of Albany, if the Troops levied

by the Orsini were not disbanded. But these Pains were needless; for as soon as the Pope was satisfied that it lay in his own Power to avoid the present Dangers, he laid afide all other Thoughts, and applied himself with all his Mind to find Means for an Agreement. Wherefore as foon as he had heard the Archbishop he sent to stop the Auditor of the Chamber on the Road, and to remove all Occasions that might obstruct an Accommodation, he procured that the Duke of Albany should disband all his Forces, except the Cavalry and Ultramontane Foot, and appointed him Quarters at Corneto, receiving a Promise of the Casarean Ministers that they would also disband their Troops which were about Rome, and put a Stop to Ascanio Colonna, and other Troops that were coming from the Kingdom of Naples; and he interposed also his Mediation that the Colonnas, who had begun to molest the Territories of the Orfini, should desist from Hostilities.

P 2

THE

A. D.

THE Pontiff was desirous, and used all his Endeavours that the Venetians might be included in the Convention of which he was treating with the Viceroy: But the Difficulty lay in their refufing to pay the Money demanded of them by the Viceroy, for he required as much Money as they would have spent in the War to which they were to contribute, and that, for the future, they should contribute their Share not in Men but in Money. He made also the same Demand of all those who were comprehended in the Confederacy contracted with Adrian. But this Obstinacy of the Venetians was of Service to the Pontiff, by giving Sufpicion to the Viceroy that they were projecting new Movements.

WHILE these Affairs were under Negotiation, with the surest Prospect of bringing them to a Conclusion, the Florentines, by order of the Pontiss, sent the Marquis of Pescara Twenty-sive Thousand Ducats for the Use of the Army, having first received a Promise from Gio-

van Bartolomeo da Gattinara, deputed by A. D. the Viceroy to manage the Treaty at his Court, that this Sum should be reckoned as Part of a larger Sum which they were to pay by Virtue of the new Capitulation. But, a very few Days before this Treaty was concluded, the Duke of Albany, who had waited for the Fleet to carry him back into France, the fame being arrived at Porto di Santo Stefano, and the Gallies fent to fetch him off. embarked on board these and the Pope's Gallies lent him by Consent of the Viceroy, tho' no Pass had been granted either to the Fleet or to the Gallies. With the Duke embarked Renzo da Ceri, with the Artillery received from Siena and Lucca, and Four Hundred Horse, and One Thousand German Foot, but with a few Italians, the rest of the Troops being disbanded, and the Remainder of the Horses, partly fold off, and partly left behind. From the whole Progress of this Expedition it was easy to comprehend that the Duke of Albany was fent either with a View to oblige the Imperialists, out of Appre-P 3 henfions

A. D. hensions for the Kingdom of Naples,

1525. to quit the Dutchy of Milan, in order
to succour it, or that the same Fears
should induce them to an Accommodation: And these were the Reasons of
the Duke's slow Proceedings, the King
wanting Forces to send him with a powerful Army,

But at last, on the first Day of April, a Confederacy, in which the Venetians were left out, was concluded at Rome, between the Pontiff and the Viceroy of Naples, as Cæsar's Lieutenant General in Italy, for whom acted as his Plenipotentiary Giovanni Bartolomeo da Gattinara. Grandson to Cæsar's Great Chancellor, comprehending the Pontiff himself and the Florentines on one Side, and Cafar on the other. The Substance of the most important Articles was: That between the Pope and Cafar there should be a perpetual Friendship and Confederacy, by which each Party shall be obliged to defend with a certain Number of Troops the Dutchy of Milan, at that Time possessed, under the Protection tion of Casar, by Francesco Sforza, who A. D. was nominated as Principal in this Capitulation; and that the Emperor should take under his Protection the whole State of the Church, and that which was in the Possession of the Florentines, and particularly the House of the Medici, with the Authority and Prerogative which it enjoys in that City; paying him on that account at present One Hundred Thousand Ducats, as an Equivalent for what they ought to have contributed in the last War, by Virtue of the League made with Adrian, which was pretended not to expire with his Death, it being specified in the Articles that it should subfift for one Year after the Death of any one of the Confederates: That the Cafarean Generals should recal their Troops from the Ecclesiastic State, and not send others to take up their Quarters in the same without the Pontiff's Confent. The Venetians were allowed the Term of Twenty Days for entering into their Confederacy on honourable Conditions, which were to be declared by the Pope and Cafar: That the Viceroy should be bound P 4

1. D. bound to procure Cæsar's Ratification of all these Articles to be returned within Four Months. And the Deputies of the Viceroy obliged themselves by a separate Article, confirmed by an Oath, that, if Cafar should not ratify this Capitulation within the Term abovementioned, the Viceroy should repay the One Hundred Thousand Ducats, the League however, till the Failure of fuch Repayment, to remain inviolable. To this Convention were added Three Articles. not connected to the Capitulation but drawn in a separate Writing, and confirmed also by Oath, containing, that, in Matters relating to Benefices in the Kingdom of Naples, it should be permitted the Pontiff to exercise that Authority and Jurisdiction which were ordered by the Investitures of the Kingdom: That the Dutchy of Milan, for the future, should take its Salt from the Salt-pits of Cervia, at the same Price, and under the same Regulations as had been formerly agreed on between Leo and the present King of France, and confirmed by the Capitulation

THE WARS IN ITALY:

233

lation made by the same Leo, in the Year A. D. 1521, with the Emperor: That the Viceroy should be obliged to operate in fuch a Manner that the Duke of Ferrara should immediately restore to the Church Reggio, Rubiera, and the other Towns which he had taken during the Vacancy of the Roman See by the Death of Adrian *: That in Confideration hereof the Pontiff, as foon as he should be put into intire Possession of those Towns. should pay unto Cæsar One Hundred Thousand Ducats, and, whenever he should be required by him, absolve the Duke from those Censures and Privations which he had incurred, though not however from the Penalty of One Hundred Thousand Ducats in which he was engaged in case he contravened the Covenant made with Adrian: Provided however, that, as foon as the Pope had recovered Possession, it should be submitted to Examination whether thefe

^{*} In this Affair the Viceroy was guilty of a notorious Piece of Fraud and Double-Dealing, for at the same time he agreed with the Duke, and received Money of him, that these Towns should not be restored to the Pontiff.

1525 the Empire; if to the Empire they

should be held in Fee from Cæsar; but

if they appertained to the Church, the

Apostolic See was to remain in free

Possession.

This Step of the Pope was varioufly interpreted by the Public according to the Difference of Passions and Judgments; the Multitude especially, who are usually better pleased with specious than mature Counsels, and often take those for generous who make a wrong Estimate of Things, and also all those who make a Profession of desiring the Liberty of Italy, blamed him as if, out of Meannels of Spirit, he had neglected the Opportunity of uniting the Italians against Cæsar, and had affisted with his own Money the Imperial Army to free themselves from all their Difficulties and Disorders: But most of the wifer Sort of People were of a very different Opinion; for they confidered that a Resolution to make Resistance. with new-raifed Troops, against a very numerous

numerous and victorious Army, was by A. D. no means prudent: That the Arrival of 1525. the Swiss could not but take up a long Time, whence it might eafily happen for an Opportunity to be lost were they never fo ready to hasten their Coming, of which, however, confidering their Nature, and the Blow they had fo lately received, there was no Certainty. Nor could any Thing better be expected from the Kingdom of France, where so great an Overthrow had left neither Courage nor Counfel, and where was no ready Provision of Money, or Men at Arms, of whom those few who had faved themselves in the Day of Battle, having lost their Baggage, wanted Time and Money to put themselves in new Equipages. This Union * therefore had no other probable Foundation than the Hopes that the hostile Army would not be able to put themselves in Motion for Want of their Pay. But tho' this should be the Case, they

^{*} Of the States of Italy against Cælar, the Negleat of which is above imputed to the Pope.

A. D. they would not by that Means be deprived of the Dutchy of Milan, which, as long as it was governed under Cæsar's Direction, would always give the Pope very just Reasons for Apprehensions. But this Hope was also very uncertain; for it was to be feared that the Cæsarean Generals by their Authority and Policy, and by proposing the Pillage of some rich City of the Church, or of Tuscany, might dispose the Soldiers to march, as we find already that a Part of the Germans, only for the Sake of better Quarters, have passed the River Po, and spread themselves over the Territories of Parma and Piacenza, so that, if they had been resolved to have passed forwards, there could have been no Remedy but what would have come too late; and a Refolution of fuch Importance, in fo imminent a Danger, must have been founded only on the Hopes of Diforders among the Enemy, from which it finally depended on their own Will to disentangle themselves. The Counsel of Clement therefore, with respect to the current Times, was prudent and well considered; but

1525.

but it would perhaps have been more commendable, if he had used the same Prudence in all the Articles of the Capitulation, and had turned his Thoughts rather on healing the Wounds of Italy, than on opening and exasperating some of the most virulent Kind, in Imitation of those knowing Physicians, who, when the Remedies administered to cure the Indisposition of the other Members increase the Disorders of the Head or Heart, laying aside all Care of slighter Evils, which well wait Time, attend with all Diligence to that which is of most Importance, and most necessary to the Health of the Patient. For the better understanding of this Point it is necessary to go pretty far back, and repeat Part of those Things already, tho' in a scattering Manner, related, and reduce them to one Plan and View.

THE House of Este, besides having for a very long Time, under the Title of Vicars of the Church, held the Government

A. D. vernment of Ferrara, were a long while in Possession of Reggio and Modena by the Investitures of the Emperors, there being no Question at that Time but that these two Cities were under the Imperial Jurisdiction, and possessed them in Peace, till Julius II. the Reviver of the almost antiquated Rights of the Apostolic See, and the Author of much Mischief under a pious Title, in order totally to reduce Ferrara under the Dominion of the Church, made War upon Duke Alfonso. In this War, having met with an Opportunity of wresting from the Duke Modena, he kept it at first for himself. as a Place which, together with other Towns as far as the River Po, appertained to the Apostolic See, as being Part of the Exarchate of Ravenna; but a little after, being under Fear of the French. he gave it up to the Emperor Maximilian. Nor did this put a Stop to the War against Alfonso; for Julius, not long after, took from him also Reggio, and it was believed that, if he had lived longer, he would have also taken Ferrara, being

a most bitter Enemy to Alfonso, as well A. D. out of a pious Intention, with which he cloaked his Ambition of recovering to the Church whatever was faid to have at any Time belonged to it, as from Indignation, because the Duke had preferred the Friendship of the French to that of his Holiness; and perhaps also from an implacable Hatred which he bore to the Memory and Reliques of Alexander VI. his Predecessor, whose Daughter Lucretia was married to Alfonso, and had several Children the Fruits of that Matrimony. Julius dying left to his Succesfors not only the Inheritance of Reggio, but the same Ambition of recovering Ferrara, to which they were stimulated by the glorious Memory which he feemed to have left of himself to Posterity. Wherefore this Ambition was more prevalent in his Succeffor Leo, than his Regard to the Greatness of the House of the Medici in Florence, to which it appeared more conducive that the Power of the Church should be diminished, than by an Addition of Ferrara to make it

A. D. more formidable to all its Neighbours. On the contrary Leo having purchased Modena bent all his Thoughts on making himself Master of Ferrara, but more by Plots and Treachery than by open Force, which was become too difficult, because Alfonso seeing himself in such great Danger had employed himself in making his City very strong, had cast a great Number of Cannon, and provided vast Magazines of warlike Stores, and, as it was believed, very large Sums of Money. And Leo's Enmity was perhaps greater, but managed with more Secrecy, than that of Julius; for, besides a Multitude of Plots by which he feveral Times attempted to take the Place by Surprise or by Fraud, he brought those Princes with whom he contracted Alliances under an Obligation that at least they would give no Obstruction to this Enterprize. Nor did he only continue this Defign in the Life time of his Brother Giuliano, and of his Nephew Lorenzo, for whose Exaltation it was believed that he had entertained this ambitious Defire, but was

no less eager in pursuing it after their A. D. Deaths. And this Defire was fo ardent in him, that many are perfuaded that he was hurried on his last rather precipitous than prudent Resolution of joining with Cæsar against the King of France, in a great measure, by the same Passion; so that Alfonso, to satisfy the King of France, his only Foundation and Hope, was neceffitated to enter on a War in the Modenese, while the Army of Leo and Casar laid Siege to Parma. And the Duke, meeting with ill Success in this War, would foon have been reduced to very great Straits, had not Leo, about this Time, been taken off by a sudden Death, in the Course of his Victories; a Death certainly no less seasonable for Alfonso than that of Julius.

Nor am I satisfied that his Successor Adrian was not possessed of the same covetous Desire, though, being new and unexperienced in the Affairs of Italy, he had, in the first Month after his Arrival at Rome, absolved the Duke from Cen-Vol. VIII. Q sures,

A. D. fures, granted him the Investiture anew, and permitted him to enjoy all that he had feized during the Vacations of the Church, and had given him Hopes of restoring to him Modena and Reggio; but, afterwards, upon better Information, he grew every Day more averse to such Restoration. But by the Creation of Clement the Duke came under very great Apprehensions that old Times were returning: And indeed justly; for this Pope, had Things succeeded prosperously with him, would have been in the fame Disposition with Julius and Leo. But not meeting as yet an Opportunity to attempt Ferrara, he was intent on recovering Reggio and Rubiera, as more feafable, and the more justifiable because they had been so lately in the Possession of the Church, and on that account would reflect no small Dishonour on him if they were not recovered. Hence arose that Sollicitude in him, which discovered itself many other Ways before, and lastly in the Convention with the Viceroy, when he shewed himself more mindful of

that Affair than was defired by many, A. D. who knowing the Dangers impending on 1525. all from the Greatness of Cæsar, and that no Preservative against it was more effectual than a hearty, fincere, and ready Union of Italy, and that they had Reafon to expect every Day either Occafion or a Necessity of taking up Arms, were of Opinion that it would have been better for the Pontiff not to exasperate the Duke of Ferrara, and force him to throw himself into the Arms of the Emperor, considering that he was a Prince whose Friendship, on account of his Riches, the Conveniency of his Situation, and his other Conditions, was at that Juncture highly to be valued, and that he ought rather to have embraced a Reconciliation with him, and done his utmost for extirpating his Fears and Hatred, supposing however that doing a Kindness to one who is perfuaded that he has received fo many Injuries, is sufficient to cancel in ill-disposed and rancorous Minds the Memory of Offences, especially when the Favour is bestowed at a Time when it

Q 2

appears

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. appears to proceed rather from Necessity than good Will.

244

THE Capitulation being concluded, the Pontiff, not to be wanting in the fuitable Offices due to so great a Prince, with the Viceroy's Permission, sent the Bishop of Pistoja to visit and comfort the King of France. The King, after fome general Discourse in the Presence of General Alarcone, and intreating that the Pontiff would use his good Offices with Cafar in his Behalf, asked the Bishop, in a low Voice, what was become of the Duke of Albany, and receiving for Answer that Part of his Troops was broken, and that he himself, with the rest, had passed into France, he was extreamly concerned.

Several of AT this Time the Lucchese agreed the States with the Viceroy to pay Ten Thou-of Italy capitulate fand Ducats, for which he received with the them under Cafar's Protection. The Viceroy, Senese also made an Agreement to pay Fifteen Thousand Ducats, without obliging the Viceroy to favour one Form of

Government

Government more than another: For A. D. on one Side those of the Monte de' Nove, who, at the Instances of the Pontiff, by means of the Duke of Albany, had refumed, tho' not as yet confolidated, their Authority; and on the other hand those who, for their Profession of aspiring after Liberty, were commonly called Libertines, and much animated, by the Battle of Pavia, to make Head against the Government introduced by the Forces of the King of France, had each Party fent their Agents to the Viceroy to render him propitious to their Designs; but, obtaining from him no certain Resolution concerning their Form of Government, had all readily joined in folliciting a Composition. This being made, and the Men, fent by the Viceroy to receive the Money, being arrived, while the Money was telling, and in their Presence, Girolamo Severini, a Senese Citizen, who had been some Time with the Viceroy, affaffinated Alessandria Bichi, the Head Bichi afof the new Government, and the Person sassinated. in whom the Pope had defigned that, for

Q 3

A. D. the present, the whole Authority should center. On this Occasion others of the Change of Citizens concerned with Severini in the Govern-Conspiracy taking up Arms, in Conment in junction with the Populace, who were Siena. discontented under the Apprehensions that the Government had reverted to a Tyranny, expelled the Chiefs of the Monte de' Nove, and new modelled the Government, putting it in the Hands of the People, who were Enemies to the Pontiff, and Adherents to Cafar. These Proceedings were not, as it is thought, without the Knowledge of the Viceroy, or at least his highest Approbation of what had been done, confidering of what mighty Convenience it was for Cæsar's Affairs to have at his Devotion that potent City, which has the Advantage of Sea-ports and a fertile Territory, is near the Kingdom of Naples, and is fituated between Rome and Florence, though the Viceroy and the Duke of Seffa had given Hopes to the Pontiff that no Alteration should be made in a Government introduced with his Favour.

A. D. 1525.

MANY others of the Italian Powers followed the Inclination of the abovementioned, and the Fortune of the Conqueror: among whom the Marquis of Monferrato compounded for Fifteen Thousand Ducats, and the Duke of Ferrara, who could not fo readily fettle his Affairs on account of the Relation which they had to the Capitulation made with the Pontiff, and because it was necessary first to be assured of Cæsar's Intentions, was content to lend the Viceroy Fifty Thousand Ducats with a Promise of Repayment unless they otherwise agreed. With this Money, and One Hundred Thousand Ducats, promised them by the State of Milan. and the Sums for which the Genoese and Lucchese stood engaged, together with the Money remitted by Cæsar to Genoa for the Support of the War, but which did not arrive till after the Victory the Generals employed themselves, as fast as it came, in paying the Arrears due to the Army, sending back from Q 4

A. D. Time to Time, as they were paid, the

As no Signs therefore appeared that they intended for the present to follow the Course of their Victory against any one, but that, on the contrary, the Vicerov had ratified the Capitulation made with the Pontiff, and was at the fame time treating of making a new Appointment with the Venetians, which he eagerly defired, the Eyes of all People were turned upon Cæfar, to behold in what Manner he would receive the joyful News of the Victory, and to what End he would direct his Thoughts. In that Prince, as far as could be comprehended by outward Demonstrations, appeared Marks of a Mind full of Moderation, qualified eafily to resist the Prosperity of Fortune*, and such as could hardly be believed in a Prince fo powerful, young, and one who had never feen

^{*} He ordered a Procession and Supplications for three Days, that this great Success might turn out to the Welfare and Advantage of all Christendom. Giovio,

any other than happy Success. For on A. D. Advice of so great a Victory, which he 1525. received on the Tenth Day of March, together with a Letter from the King of France, written with his own Hand in a supplicant Manner, and more with the Spirit of a Prisoner than of a King. he immediately went to Church to render Thanks to God, with all Solemnity, for fo great Success; and the next Morning, with Marks of the highest Devotion, received the Sacrament of the Eucharift, and went in Procession to the Church of our Lady, without Madrid, where he resided at that Time with his Court. Nor did he consent, as is customary with others, that there should be any Demonstrations of rejoicing by Balls or Bonefires, or in any other Manner, faying, that it was proper to make Rejoycings for Victories obtained over Infidels, and not for fuch as are gotten over Christians. And without shewing, either in his Words or Gestures, any Sign of immoderate Gladness, or of being puffed up in Mind, he answered the Congratula-

tions

A. D. tions of Ambassadors and of the Grandees who were near his Person, that he was pleased with the Victory, because the Affistance of God, manifestly vouchsafed to him on that Occasion, appeared to him as a Sign that he was, tho' unworthy, in his Favour; and because he hoped that now he should have an Opportunity of giving Peace to Christendom, and of preparing War against the Infidels, and should also be the better enabled to be kind to his Friends, and to pardon his Enemies; adding that, tho' that Victory might justly be accounted all his own, fince none of his Friends had affisted him in obtaining it, yet he was willing that it should be common to all. To this Purpose, after he had given Audience to the Venetian Ambassador, who justified the Steps taken by his Republic, he said to the Attendants that his Excuses were not true, however he would accept of them as fuch. After some Days had passed in a Continuation of fuch like Speeches and outward Demeanor, indicating the highest Wisdom and Goodness, in order

to proceed with Maturity, according to his Custom, one Day he called a Council, and signified to them that he desired their Advice how to regulate his Conduct with regard to the King of France, and what Ends he ought to serve by this Victory, commanding every one to give his Advice with Freedom in his Presence. In consequence of this Command, the Bishop of Osma, who held the Office of Consessor to Casar, made the following Speech:

ons Prince, that whatever happens in Speech of the Bishop this lower World proceeds from the Pro-of Osma to vidence of the Supreme Being, which daily gives Motion to Causes, and regulates Events, on some Occasions discovering its Operations in an extraordinary Manner, yet never did it give more evident Tokens of its intervening Power than in the present Victory: A Victory, which on account of its Greatness, the Ease with which it was obtained, and the great Power of the Enemies, who abounded with all the necessary Provisions of

A. D. War to a far greater Degree than ourselves, every one must own to have been by the express Will of God, and almost miraculous. The greater therefore and more manifest the Favour of Heaven has appeared in this Event, the more strictly is your Majesty obliged to acknowledge it, and to shew all the Marks of a just Gratitude. This Behaviour confifts principally in the Direction and Improvement of the Victory in such a Manner as may best promote the Service of God, and anfwer those Ends for which we may believe it has been granted. And indeed when I confider to what a low Ebb the State of Christendom is reduced, I cannot fee that any Thing can be more holy, more necessary, or more pleasing to God. than an universal Peace between Christian Princes, without which we must be senfible that Religion, the Catholic Faith. and a good Life must fall under most manifest Decay and Difrepute. On one Side we have the Turks, who, taking Advantage of our Divisions, have made an amazing Progress, and now threaten Hungary, the Kingdom of your Sister's Husband.

band. And if they should get Possession A. D. of Hungary, as no doubt they will if the 1525. Christian Princes are not reconciled, they will have an open Road into Germany and Italy. On the other Side this Lutheran Herefy, fo hateful to God, fo reproachful to him who has Power to fuppress it, and so dangerous to all Princes, has now gained fuch a Footing, that without due Care it will fill the World with Heretics, and no Provision can be made against it but by the Imperial Power and Authority, which, while your Majesty is involved in other Wars, cannot exert themselves for the Extirpation of this most pernicious Poison. But besides all this, had we nothing to apprehend either from Turks or Heretics, what can be more unfeemly, more wicked, and more pestiferous, than that so much Christian Blood, which might be gloriously spent for propagating the Christian Faith, or at least reserved for more necessary Occasions, should be idly spilt for the Gratification of our Passions, attended with fo many Rapes, Sacrileges, and horrible Outrages? Evils, of which whoA. D. whoever is willingly the Author can never hope for Pardon from God, and which whoever commits out of Necessity, deferves no Excuse if he has not at least a full Intention to redress them as soon as it shall lie in his Power. The End therefore which you are to have in View, ought to be univerfal Peace among Christians, a Work above all others honourable, holy, and necessary, and which we are now to confider by what Means it may be accomplished. There are three Resolutions which lie at your Majesty's Choice concerning the King of France: one of keeping him a perpetual Prisoner; another of fetting him at Liberty with Marks of Affection, and in a brotherly Manner, without any other Conditions than fuch as may ferve to establish a perpetual Peace and Friendship between your Majesty and him, and to heal the Sores of Christendom. A Third Way is to give him his Liberty, but with Care to make all the Profit of it that may be possible. Of these Resolutions the first and last, if I mistake not, prolong and increase the Wars. A loving and brother-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

ly Dismission is the only Way to extir- A. D. pate them for ever. For who can doubt that the King of France, quite charmed by fuch generous Treatment, and fingular Liberality, from the Sense of so extraordinary a Benefit, will be more bound in Mind, and more in your Power, than he is at prefent in Body? And if a fincere Union and Harmony should happily be effected between your Majesty and that King, all the rest of Christendom will betake themselves to follow that Road which shall be marked out for them by two fuch Princes. But a Refolution to keep the King in perpetual Custody, befides incurring the too just Imputation of Cruelty, and discovering a Mind ignorant and infensible of Fortune, is the ready Way to propagate Wars without End, fince it presupposes an Intention to conquer all or a great Part of France, which is impossible to be accomplished without new and very destructive Wars. If we chuse the Mean between these two Resolutions, which is to set the Royal Prisoner at Liberty, but on such CondiA. D: tions as to yield us all the Profit that 1525. can be possibly be made of it, it is, in my Opinion, more perplexed, and more dangerous than both the others. For whatever Affinity he may contract, whatever Articles or Obligations he may confent to fign, he will always remain an Enemy, and he will never want the Affistance of all those who are jealous of your Majesty's Greatness, whence may be expected new Wars, and those more bloody and more dangerous than the past. I am sensible how much this Opinion differs from the general Sentiment, that it is quite new and without Precedent; but these singular and extraordinary Refolutions may very well become Cæsar, nor is it at all surprising that his Largeness of Soul is very capable of fuch Notions as are above the Comprehension of all other Men, whom he ought to excel in Magnanimity as much as he is advanced above them in Dignity; and therefore he ought to know, above all others, how full of Glory an Act of fuch

fuch great Generosity would appear, and A. D. how much it is the Duty of Cafar to 1525. pardon and shew Kindness rather than to make Conquests: That God has not in vain almost miraculously put into his Hands the Power of giving Peace to the World; that it is incumbent on him, after so many Victories, after so many Favours bestowed upon him by the Almighty, after feeing all his Enemies prostrate at his Feet, to proceed no longer as an Enemy to any Person whatever, but to provide, as a common Father, for the Welfare of all. The Names of Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar were rendered more glorious by the Magnanimity of pardoning Enemies, and restoring Kingdoms to the Conquered, than by the Multitude of Victories and Triumphs. Their Example deferves the more to be followed by him who, not proposing to himself, for his fole End, Glory, tho' a very great Reward, principally defires to discharge the true and proper Office that belongs to every Christian Prince. But to come closer to the Point, in order to convince VOL. VIII. those

A. D. those who estimate human Affairs by human Ends, let us consider what Refolution is looked upon to be the most ferviceable to those very Ends. I verily think that of all your Majesty's Greatness, there is no Part more marvellous more worthy, than the Glory you have attained of being hitherto invincible, and of conducting all your Enterprises to a most happy Issue with so much Reputation and Prosperity. This is without Doubt the most precious Jewel, the most singular Treasure among all your Treasures. How then can it be better fecured, or more certainly be preserved than by closing the War with so gcnerous and magnanimous an End, by putting the Glory acquired out of the Power of Fortune, and bringing this Ship, laden with Wares of inestimable Value, out of the wide Ocean into a safe Harbour? But let us insist farther: is not that Greatness which is preserved by Free Will more defirable than that which is maintained by Violence? None doubts it, because it is more stable, more easy, more pleasing, and more honourable.

honourable. If Cafar obliges the King A. of France by fo figual an Act of Liberality, by so inestimable a Benefit, will not that King always be as a Guardian of him, and of his Kingdom? If he gives fo manifest an Affurance to the Pope and to the other Princes, that he contents himself with the States which he has in Possession, and has no Thoughts but how to promote the universal Welfare of Christendom, will they not be fatisfied, and renounce all Fears and Jealousies? And when they have no farther Grounds for Apprehensions or Difputes, they will not only love but adore fuch transcendent Goodness. Thus, with the voluntary Submission of all, will he give Laws to all, and have it infinitely more in his Power to dispose of Christians by Benevolence and Authority than by Force and Imperiousness. Affisted then and followed by all, he will be enabled to turn his Arms against the Lutherans and Infidels with more Glory, and with more Opportunities of making greater Conquests, which I see no Reason why we should not as well defire to be R 2 made

A. D. made in Africa, or in Greece, or in the Levant, even tho' the Enlargement of Dominion among Christians were attended with fo much Facility as many, in my Opinion, vainly, imagine: For the Power of your Majesty is so greatly augmented as to become too formidable to every one, and if they should perceive that it is defigned to be carried to a greater Height, they will all unite against you. The Pope dreads your Power, the Venetians are under Apprehensions from it. all Italy stands in Awe of it, and, if we may judge by outward and frequent Signs, the King of England begins to take Umbrage at its Progress. The French may possibly be for some Months amused with Hopes and fruitless Negotiations, but at last it will be necessary to deliver their King, or they will be thrown into Despair, and when desperate they will join with all the rest of your Adversaries. If the King be fet at Liberty on Conditions of little Advantage to your Majesty, where will be the Gain by losing the Opportunity of exercifing fuch extraordinary Magnanimity, which, if not exerted

at this Beginning, when you would af- 4. D. terwards feek to display it, will carry with it neither Praise nor Glory, nor the like Grace? If you fet him free on Conditions very advantageous and profitable to yourself, he will not observe them; for no Security that he may give can be of fuch Importance to him, but that he will be much more concerned to prevent his Enemy from becoming fo great, as afterwards to have it in his Power to oppress him. Thus shall we have either a useless Peace, or a dangerous War, the Iffues of which are uncertain. Whoever has enjoyed a long State of Felicity has the greater Reason to dread the Change of Fortune, and he who once had it in his Power to fettle all his Affairs on a good Foundation, feels the bitterest Regret when Things fall out contrary to the Hopes with which he had flattered himself. I trust, Casar, that I have satisfied your Command, if not with Prudence, yet at least with Affection and Fidelity; and now nothing remains on my Part, but to pray God to give you a Mind and Ability

D. Ability to take such a Resolution as may be most agreeable to his Will, and most conducive to the Advancement of your own Glory, and finally best suited for promoting the Good of the Christian Commonwealth, of which, on account of the supreme Dignity in which you are placed, and because it is manifestly the Will of God, it is fit you should be Father and Protector."

Attention, and without shewing any Sign of Displeasure or Approbation: But, after he had been a while silent, he made a Sign for others to speak; on which Federigo, Duke of Alva, a Person of great Authority in Casar's Court, made the following Speech:

Speech of the Duke invincible Emperor, if I should confess of Alva to Charles that, as for my Part, I have no Judgment, nor Capacity of carrying my Understanding to a higher Pitch than that to which

which the ordinary Understandings of A. D. other Men have arrived; and, what is 1525. more, I shall perhaps be the more commended if I should advise you to take the same Steps, and proceed by the same Methods by which your Fathers and Grandfathers always proceeded. For new and strange Counsels may perhaps at first Sight appear more glorious and more magnanimous, but are sure to prove in the End more dangerous and more fallacious than those which have at all Times, and with all Men, been approved by Reason and Experience. The Will of God in the first Place, and, subordinate to that, the Valour of your Generals and Soldiers have given you a greater Victory than has been gained by any Christian Prince for these many Ages; but all the Fruits of Success in Battles confifts in making a right Use of the Victory, and not to do this is the more difgraceful than not to overcome, as it is a greater Fault to be cheated of those Things which are in the Power of him who fuffers the Cheat to pass upon him, than of those which depend R 4

A D. depend on Fortune. The more then are we to beware of taking a Resolution which must in the End create us Shame before others, and Repentance in our own Breasts; and the more important the Affair is of which we treat, the more circumspectly are we to proceed, and to take with Maturity those Resolutions which once found erroneous can never afterwards be rectified; and you are to consider with yourselves that if the King be fet at Liberty, he is immediately out of your Reach, but while he is a Prisoner it is always in your Power to release him. And he ought not to wonder at your Slowness, fince, if I mistake not, he is conscious to himself in what Manner he would act if Cæsar were his Prisoner. The Capture of the King of France was certainly a very great Concern, but whoever well, considers the Case will find his Dismission to be incomparably greater; nor can it ever be confidered prudent to take a Resolution of such great Moment, without very long Confultation, and revolving the Case infinite Times

in the Mind. I should not perhaps be 4. D. of this Opinion, [could I persuade myfelf that the King, if he were at prefent fet at Liberty, would acknowledge so great a Benefit with due Gratitude; and that the Pope and the other Italian Powers would lay aside their Covetousness and Ambition, together with their Jealousies. But who knows not how dangerous it is to found fo important a Resolution on so fallacious and uncertain a Supposition? Since whoever well confiders the Condition and Manners of Men will fooner judge the contrary. For nothing is in its own. Nature more transitory, nothing of a shorter Date, than the Remembrance of Benefits, and the greater they are, the greater Measure of Ingratitude (according to the Proverb) is required to pay them. For he who is either unable or unwilling to cancel them by Recompenfation, often strives to cancel them either by Forgetfulness, or by perfuading himfelf that they are not fo confiderable; and he who is ashamed of having been reduced to a State that had need of Benefits,

M. D. nefits, is besides galled at the Thoughts of having received them; fo that the Hatred arising from the Memory of the Necessity under which they were both fallen, operates more strongly in them than the Obligation presented from the Consideration of the Kindness that had been shewed them. Besides, what Nation is there to whom Infolence is more natural or Levity more proper, than to the French? Now where there is Infolence there is Blindness, where there is Levity, there is no Knowledge of Virtue, no Judgment to qualify a Man for discerning the Actions of others, and no Gravity to enable him to estimate what is fit and proper for himself. What then can be expected from a King of France, puffed up with as much Pride as can be conceived in a King of Frenchmen, but that he burns with Rage and Indignation as being a Prisoner to Cælar, at a Time when he thought himself sure of triumphing over him? The Memory of his Disgrace will always be fresh in his Mind, and after he is at Liberty he will be so far from be-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

267

believing that the Way to obliterate it A. D. is by Gratitude, that he will be always striving to get the Superiority over you. He will persuade himself that he is dismissed on account of the Difficulty of retaining him, not out of Goodness or Magnanimity. Such is the Nature of Men in general, but is always the Nature of Frenchmen, in whom whoever expects Gravity or Magnanimity must expect new Orders and Regulations in human Concerns. Thus, in the Room of Peace, and Re-establishment of Order and Harmony in the World, new Wars and Contentions will arise, greater and more dangerous than the past. For your Reputation will be loft, and your Army, which expects the due Fruits of so great a Victory, deceived in its Hopes, will no longer exert the same Valour and Vigour, nor will your Affairs be attended with the same Fortune, who will hardly stay with those that would retain her, much less with such as drive her away. Nor will the imaginary Goodness of the Pope and Venetians prove of any other Kind, but, on the conA. D. contrary, repenting of having fuffered you to obtain the past Victory, they will do their utmost to prevent you from obtaining any more, and the Fear which they now have of you will prompt them to use all their Endeavours to prevent their falling again under new Fears; and thus, when it is in your Power to hold your Enemies bound with the Chains of Terror and Amazement, you yourself, out of a fond Excess of Goodness, will be the Instrument to free them from those Shackels that they might bid you Defiance. What may be the Will of God in this Case I pretend not to know, nor do I believe it known to others, because we ate usually taught that his Judgments are a deep Secret and unsearchable: But if we may venture to guess from fuch clear Appearances I imagine it favourable to your Greatness, and cannot suppose that he dispenses his Bleffings to you in fuch an Abundance with a Defign that you should cast them behind your Back, but in order to render you as much superior to others in Fact

Fact and Reality, as you are in Right and Title. To lose therefore so fair an Opportunity, which God has put into your Hands, is wilfully to render yourfelf unworthy of his Favours. Experience has always demonstrated, and Reason has made it appear, that Success never attends an Affair that depends on many Hands: I much question therefore whether he who imagines that the Heretics can be oppressed, or the Infidels subdued by the Union of many Princes, forms to himself just Notions of the Nature of Mankind. These are Enterprises that require a Prince of fuch Greatness as to dictate and give Directions to the others, without which all Treaties and Efforts for those Purposes will meet with the same Success for the future as they have had in Times past. For this End, I believe, God has opened you a Way to univerfal Monarchy, which alone is sufficient to answer these holy Intentions; and it is best to delay the Commencement of the Undertaking, in order to proceed on better and more certain Foundations. Nor suffer yourself.

A. D. to be diverted from this Resolution by the Fear of fo many Confederates who threaten you, for the Opportunity is too great which you have in your Power: For if Matters be rightly negotiated the King's Mother, out of natural Tendernels, and from a Necessity of recovering her Son, will never suffer herself to be cut off from all Hopes of getting him out of your Hands by an Agreement; nor will the Princes of Italy ever unite with the Regency of France, knowing that it is always in your Power to break fuch an Union by delivering the King, and even to make it turn to their Disadvantage. They must of neceffity remain in Suspense and Amazement, and at last strive who shall be foremost in receiving Laws from your Imperial Majesty, for whom it will then be glorious to exercise Clemency and Magnanimity, when Affairs are reduced to fuch a Situation that they cannot help acknowledging you for their Superior. In fuch Cases did Alexander and Cæsar exercise these Virtues, freely pardoning Injuries, but were not so inconsiderate

THE WARS IN ITALY.

derate as voluntarily to involve themselves A. D. afresh in those Difficulties and Dangers which they had overcome. He who acts in this Manner deserves Praise because he has but few Examples, but that Man is not perhaps to be commended for his Prudence who does a Thing for which there is no Example. Wherefore, Cæsar, my Opinion is, that the greatest Profit be made of this Victory that is possible, and that with this View the King, always treated with the Honours suitable to Kings, be conducted, if it cannot be into Spain, at least to Naples; and that in Answer to his Letter you fend him a Messenger with a very kind Message, who shall at the same Time propose the Conditions of his Liberty, which may be fuch as, when they come to be particularly examined, may appear to carry in them a Reward worthy of such a Victory. These Foundations and Ends of your Proceedings being thus settled, Time and Accidents which arise, according to their Nature, will either hasten or retard the King's Deliverance, and shew whether we are

271

A D. to have Peace or War with the Italians, to whom at present it may be expedient to give Hopes, and to augment as much as possible the Favour and Reputation of our Arms by Art and Industry, that we might not every . Day have occasion to tempt Fortune anew. and may be prepared for an Accommodation with this or that Power, or with all together, or with none, as Opportunity shall direct. These are the Methods which were always purfued by wife Princes, and particularly by those who were the Founders of fo much Greatness; they never rejected the Means that offered themselves for their Promotion, nor flackened Sail before a prosperous Gale of Fortune. The same Duty is incumbent on you, to whom belongs in Justice what in some of them might appear Ambition. Remember. Cæsar, that you are a Prince, and that it is your Duty to proceed in the Way of Princes; and that no Person divine or human forbids you to embrace the Opportunity of reviving and restoring the usurped and oppressed Authority of the

the Empire, but only obliges you to A. D. have an honest Mind and Intention in recovering them by lawful Means. And remember above all how easy it is to lose great Opportunities, and how difficult to acquire them, and therefore that it is neceffary to strive with all Diligence to keep fast Hold of them while we may, and not lay our Stress on the Goodness or Prudence of the Conquered, fince the World is full of Imprudence and Malignity. Concluding then that the Christian Religion can rely on no other Means of Defence but from your Greatness, be not wanting to augment it with all your Might, not so much for the Interest of your own Glory and Authority, as for the Service of God, and out of Zeal for the universal Good."

IT would be impossible to express the Satisfaction of the whole Council at this Speech of the Duke of Alva, every one having already proposed in his Mind the Empire of almost all Christendom; so that there was not a single Member of the Assembly, who did not confirm the same Opinion, without making any Re-Vol. VIII.

ply, Cæsar himself also approving it, tho' rather to shew that he was not willing to reject the Counsel of his Friends than by declaring what Part he was willing to take of himself. He dispatched away therefore Buren, a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and his intimate and well-beloved Confident, to notify his Refolution to the Generals, and to visit, in his Name, the King of France, and propose the Conditions on which he might obtain his Liberty. Buren having performed his Journey by Land, because the King's Mother, for the more convenient Negotiation of her Son's Affairs, did not hinder the Passage of Couriers and other Persons that came to and from Cæsar, went, together with Bourbon and the Viceroy, to Pizzichitone. where the King as yet remained, and offered him his Liberty, but on fuch hard Conditions that the King heard them with a vast Deal of Uneasiness.

Conditi- For, besides the Cession of the Rights ons of Liberty pro- which he pretended to have in *Italy*, posed to Cæsar demanded of him the Restitution the King of the Dutchy of Burgundy as his Pro-

perty;

Con-

perty; that he should bestow Provence A. D. on the Duke of Bourbon, with other Conditions for the King of England and for himself of very great Importance. To these Demands the King constantly answered, That he was re-His folved to die a Prisoner rather than de-Answer. prive his Children of any Part of the Kingdom of France; and even if he should resolve otherwise it would not be in his Power to perform it, the antient Statutes of France not permitting the Alienation of any Thing belonging to the Crown without the Confent of the Parliaments, and of others in whom refided the Authority of the whole Kingdom, who were accustomed, in the like Cases, to prefer the universal Safety to the particular Interest of the Persons of Kings. Let them demand of him such Conditions as were possible for him to execute, and they would find him very readily disposed to enter into Engagements with Cafar, and to favour his Greatness. Nor did he omit the Op-His portunity of proposing different Condi-Proposals, tions, making no Scruple of very large

A. D. Concessions out of the States of others, that he might obtain his Liberty without any Obligation to diminish his own. As to the Substance of his Proposals, he offered to take in Marriage Cafar's Sister, Widow of the late King of Portugal, with an Acknowledgment that he held Burgundy in Right of her Dowry, to which the Children born of that Matrimony should succeed: That he would restore to Bourbon his Dutchy, which had been confiscated, and make an Addition to it of some other States; and in Recompence for Cæsar's Sister, who had been promised him, to give him his own Sister, just now become a Widow by the Death of Alençon; to satisfy the King of England, and to pay a very large Sum to Cæsar for his Ransom; to refign up to him his Rights to the Kingdom of Naples and Dutchy of Milan: To engage himself to accommodate him with a Fleet at Sea, and an Army by Land, whenever he should go to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown; which was indeed the fame as to promife to give him all Italy for a Prey.

Prey. With this Draught of Articles A. D.

Buren returned to Cæsar, accompanied
by Mons. Montmorency, a Person at that

Time very agreeable to the King, who
afterwards promoted him first to the Office of Great Master, and then to the
Dignity of High Constable of France.

BUT when the News came to France Consterof the Defeat of the Army, and of the France Captivity of the King, the Confusion on the News of and Despair that seized all Ranks of the Defeat. People are beyond Imagination. For to the immense Grief which the lamentable Misfortune of their King excited in a Nation naturally most affectionate and devoted to the Royal Name, was added an Infinity of public and private Sorrows: Of a private Kind, because there were few in the Court, and among the Nobility, who had not lost in Battle Sons, Brothers, or other Kindred, or choicest Friends; and of a public Concernment, on account of fo great a Diminution of the Authority and Splendor of fo glorious a Kingdom: An Affliction the more grievous to them,

S 3

A. D. as they are by Nature arrogant and 1525. felf-conceited, and because they were apprehensive that so great a Calamity was but the Beginning of worse Ruin, their King being taken Prisoner, and the Heads of the Government, and almost all the principal Officers of the Army being either taken with the King, or killed in the Battle, the Kingdom exhausted of Money, and surrounded with very potent Enemies: For the King of England, tho' he had entered into feveral Treaties, and feemed irresolute in many Things, yet a few Days before the Battle, breaking off all Negotiations with the King, had publickly declared that he would pass into France, if Affairs succeeded prosperously in Italy. Wherefore it was much to be feared that Cæfar and that King, having fo fair an Opportunity, would commence a War in France, where, because there was no other Person at the Helm of Government than a Woman and the King's little Children, the eldest of whom was not full Eight Years old, and because they had with them the Duke of Bourbon.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

279

Bourbon, a Lord of fuch great Power A. D. and Authority in the Kingdom of France, every Movement which they might make must be very dangerous.

Nor was the King's Mother, under Conduct fo much Care and Fatigue, out of Love of the Lato her Son, and a Regard to the Dan-in France. gers of the Kingdom, without her own proper Passions: For being ambitious, and most tenacious of Government. tho' she was apprehensive that, if the King's Deliverance should be protracted, and some new Difficulties should arise in France, she might be constrained to refign the Administration to those who should be commissioned by the States of the Kingdom, yet in the Midst of fo much Concern and Preturbation, recollecting her Spirits, and encouraging those who were about her, besides making Provisions as foon as possible for the Defence of the Frontiers of France, and for raising vast Sums of Money, as Lady Regent, by whose Order, and in whose Name all publick Business was dispatched, she wrote supplicatory S 4

A. D. plicatory Letters, full of moving Expresfions tending to excite Compassion, by She folli-first introducing, and then, by Degrees, Son's Li-folliciting as much as the could a Treaberty. ty of Agreement. For this Purpose, a few Days after, she set at Liberty Don Ugo di Moncada, and fent him to Cæfar with Offers that her Son should renounce all Claims to the Kingdom of Naples and the State of Milan. That he was content to have the Title to Burgundy examined, and that if it was found to belong to Cæsar he would acknowledge it in the Name of his Sifter's Dowry: That he would restore to Bourbon his State with his Moveables which were of very great Value, and the Profits of it which had been seized by the Royal Chamber *: That he would give him his Sister in Marriage, and consent that he should have Provence, if it should be judged that he had the better Right to it.

> THAT these Negotiations might be the more facilitated, rather than with a Mind

^{*} Or confiscated for the King's Use.

Mind bent on War, the Regentess im- A. D. mediately dispatched proper Persons to 1525. Italy, to recommend the Safety of her Son to the Pope and Venetians, offering, if, for their own Preservation, they would enter into a strict Alliance with her, and take up Arms against Cæsar, Five Hundred Lances, and a large Contribution of Money. But her principal Defire, and that of the whole Kingdom of France should have been to mitigate the Spirit of the King of England, judging, as it was true, that not having him for an Enemy the Kingdom of France was out of Danger of being molested. But if that King on one Quarter, and Cæsar on another should make an Attack upon them, they would find themselves involved in Difficulties and Dangers. But in a little Time the Regentess began to conceive some Hopes from that Side: For tho' the King of England, on the first News of the Victory, had shewed extraordinary Tokens of Rejoicing, and publicly declared that he defigned to pass into France in Person, and had also sent Ambaffadors

A. D. bassadors to Cæsar to treat, and sollicit 1525. him to carry on a War in Conjunction, yet at the fame Time, proceeding in the fame Humour in which he had proceeded on other Occasions, he requested also of Madam the Regentess to send him over fome proper Person. She immediately dispatched a Person with a very England. ample Commission, and a Charge to use all Submission and possible Arts to mitigate the Mind of that King.

> HENRY, directed wholly by the Counfels of the Cardinal of York, seemed to propose for his principal End the Cognifance and Arbitration of the Differences between the other Princes, that all the World might know that the Decifion of the main Point of Affairs of Moment depended on him. Wherefore at the same time he offered to Cafar to pass into France with a potent Army, and to put in Execution the Affairs which had some time since been agreed between them, and, to remove all Doubts, offered to confign his Daughter, not yet of Years fit for Matrimony, to Cafar's Charge

Seeks Peace

THE WARS IN ITALY. 283

Charge without Delay. But this Affair A. D. met with no small Obstruction, partly 1525. occasioned by himself, and partly proceeding from Cæsar, who was not so forward to agree with him as he had been in Times past. For that King Estrangedemanded in a Manner all the Reward ment beof the Victory for his own Share, as Cafar and Picardy, Normandy, Guyenne, and Gasco-the King of Engny, with the Title of the King of France, land. and that Cæfar, tho' the Rewards were unequal, should pass into France in Perfon, and bear an equal Share in the Costs and Danger. The Inequality of these Conditions shocked Cafar, and much the more when he called to Mind that in the last Years, when France was in the greatest Danger, he had always slackened the Profecution of the War against it: Whence he persuaded himself that no Stress could be laid on such an Alliance, and that, as he was greatly exhausted of Money, and tired out with fo many Fatigues and Dangers, he had Reason to hope for obtaining more of the King of France by Means of Peace, than with Force of Arms, by acting in ConInduced therefore by a Desire of having Children, and furnishing himself with Money, he had an Inclination to espouse the Sister of John King of Portugal, of an Age sit for Matrimony, with whom he expected to receive in Dowry a very large Sum of Money; and considerable Contributions, in case the Match should take Effect were offered by his own People, who were desirous to have a Queen of the same Language and Nation, and who was likely to be soon a Mother.

FROM these Causes the Nogotiations between the two Princes meeting every Day with new Difficulties, to which must be added the Inclination which the Cardinal of York continually bore to the King of France, and the Complaints which he openly made of Cæsar, as well for the Interest of his King, as because he thought him beginning to fall into Contempt with Cæsar. For that Prince, before the Battle of Pavia, had never used to send him any Letters, but such as were writ-

ten all with his own Hand, and fub- A. D. scribed "Your Son and Coufin Charles;" _ but fince that Victory he had fent him Letters in which was nothing written with his own Hand except the Subscription, which was no longer in Titles that betokened so much Reverence and Submission, but barely his own proper Name " Charles." On these Accounts the King of England received the Person sent by Madam the Regentness with very kind Words, and Marks of Respect; and, encouraging her to hope well of future Events, not long after he totally abandoned Cæfar's Interest, and entered into an Alliance with Madam, who contracted in the Name of her Son, in which he caused to be inserted an express Condition, that it should not be lawful to Confede yield, even tho' it were for the Delive-tween rance of the King, any Thing that was France at that Time belonging to the Kingdom land. of France, and double medit of the same

THESE were the first Dawnings of Hope on the distressed Country of France, when she began to take Breath after her severe

A. D. severe Trials and Afflictions; and this Hope was afterwards continually increased Insolence by the Conduct of the Casarean Geneperialists, rals in Italy. These Commanders, grown most insolent by so great a Victory, and flattering themselves that all Men must Submit, and all Difficulties give Way to their Will and Pleasure, lost the Opportunity of an Agreement with the Venetians, violated their Engagements to the Pontiff, and filled him, and the Duke of Milan, and all Italy with Jealousies, scattering Seeds of new Disturbances, which at last brought Cæsar under a Necessity of taking a precipitous Resolution, to the very great endangering of his State in Italy, had it not been over-ruled by his old good Fortune, and the most malignant Fate of the Pontiff; Points certainly most worthy of particular Notice, because from fuch memorable Events are understood the Counsels and Foundations preparatory to them, which are often fecret, and many times divulged in a Way and Manner very far distant from the Truth.

A. D. THE Pontiff then had hardly capitulated with the Viceroy, when he received large Offers from France, to incite him The Pope to a War; and tho' there were not want-by them. ing Encouragements from many to the same Purpose, and the Distrust which he had before conceived of the Imperialists was not diminished, yet he refolved to proceed in all Affairs after fuch a Manner as to give no Cause for entertaining any Suspicion of his Actions. Wherefore as foon as he underflood that the Viceroy had accepted and published the Convention that was made in Rome, he caused it to be also published in St. John Lateran, without waiting the Arrival of the promised Ratification of Calar, for the more effectual Demonstration of his Mind, honouring the Publication, which was made the first of May, with his Presence, and the Solemnity used at his Corona-

pay the Money they had promised, and employed all his Interest to bring the Venetians into an Agreement with the

Imperialists, who, on the other hand, gave him many just Causes of Complaint. For they would not accept, in Part of the Money promised, the Twenty Five Thousand Ducats paid by the Florentines according to his Orders while the Agreement was under Negotiation. the Viceroy having the Conscience to pretend that if it had been stipulated otherwise it had been done without his Commission. The Soldiers also had not evacuated the Dominions of the Church, but, on the contrary, the Piacentine was full of Garrisons. To these Grievances from the Cæfareans, which perhaps might in some measure be excufed by the Want of Money and Quarters, was added that not only in the Change of the State of Siena, they gave Suspicions of Disaffection to the Pontiff, but afterwards fuffered the Citizens of the Monte de' Nove to be abused, and fpoiled of their Goods by the Liber-tines, tho', on his frequent Complaints, they had given him Hopes of Redress. But what above all Things gave him most Uncasiness was the Viceroy's hearkening

kening to the Duke of Ferrara, and A D. giving him Hopes that he would not 1525. compel him to evacuate Reggio and Rubiera, and to prevail with Cafar to take his State under his Protection, tho' he had every Day promised the Pontiff that as foon as the Florentines had finished their Payments he would put him in Possession of those Towns. The Pontiff, to follicit the Accomplishment, and to obtain that the Troops should evacuate the State of the Church. fent to him Cardinal Salviati, his Legate in Lombardy, and deputed Le_ gate to Cafar. The Viceroy affured the Cardinal that he would make the Duke restore Reggio by Force of Arms, if he refused to do it voluntarily; but the Effects did by no means correspond with his Words, which being a Point not excusable by a Want of Money, for there would be a larger Sum coming to him on account of the Restitution of those Towns, gave Room for probable Conjectures that it proceeded either from a Defire to humble the Pope, or to gain over the Duke of Ferrara. VOL. VIII.

jects the feparate

Ferrara, or from a Defign, which they A. D. 1525. constantly had in View, to oppress the Liberties of Italy.

THESE Things gave Suspicion and almost incredible Vexation of Mind to the Pontiff, which were much exasperated by his imagining that these Proceedings were conformable to the Will of Cafar. That Prince, having fent the Pontiff the Letters of Ratification of the Confederacy made in his Name by the Viceroy, delayed to ratify the Three Cæfar re-Articles stipulated separately from the Ca-Articles of pitulation; alledging that, as to the Rethe Trea-stitution of the Towns held by the Duke

ty with of Ferrara, it was not in his Power to the Pope. prejudice the Rights of the Empire, nor

use Force with that Duke, who declared that he held them in Fee from the Empire. He proposed therefore that this Difference should be decided by a Trial at Law, or by an amicable Composition; and it was understood that he would have been well pleased that the Towns should remain to the Duke under his Investiture,

for

for which he should pay him One Hundred Thousand Ducats, paying also to the Pontiff the like Sum for the Investiture of Ferrara, and for the Penalty charged on the Contract which he had made with Adrian. He alledged that it was impertinent to make an Agreement with his Ministers about supplying the Dutchy of Milan with Salt, because the head Profits of that Dutchy, by the Investiture which is granted, tho' not yet configned, belonged to Francesco Sforza: And therefore the Viceroy had not bound himself simply in the Article to bring Sforza under an Obligation to take the Salt, but to procure his Confent; which Promife, including in it the Act of a Third Person, was notoriously, as to any Effect of obliging either himself or others. null and invalid. However, out of a Defire to gratify the Pontiff, he would have brought it about that the Duke should give his Consent, had not the Affair no longer concerned his own terest, but that of another, because the Duke of Milan, in Recompence for the Affistance he had received from the T 2 Archof him; and that he would yet interpose his Endeavours that his Brother, on receiving in Compensation a hand-some Sum of Money, should give his Consent, not for Perpetuity, as was expressed in the Article, but during the Life of the Pontiss. Nor did he admit of the Article relating to Benefices, unless to what was expressed in the Investiture were added the Clause, "what had been practised by the Kings his Predecessors."

On account of these Difficulties the Pope refused to accept the Letters of Ratisfication, and to send his own to Casar, demanding that, since Casar had not ratisfied within the Term of Four Months, according to the Promise of the Viceroy, the Florentines should be reimbursed the One Hundred Thousand Ducats. To this Demand he received an Answer, rather captious and cavilling than reasonable and solid: That the Condition of the Restitution of the One Hundred Thousand Ducats was not inserted

ferted in the Instrument, but promised, in a separate Article, by the Agents of the Viceroy, with an Oath, nor had any Reference to the Ratification of the Confederacy, which Cafar had ratified within the Term of Four Months. and fent the Letters of Ratification in due Form. The Pontiff also came to have Notice that the Talk of all the The Pope Court of Calar fully discovered their apprehenevil Disposition towards the Affairs of sive of Cafar's Italy, and he knew also that the Gene-Power. rals of his Army went about to perfuade him that, in order to secure Italy wholly to himself, it was the best Way to cause Modena to be restored to the Duke of Ferrara, to reinstate the Bentivogli in Bologna, and to take upon himself the Dominion of Florence, Siena, and Lucca, as Towns appertaining to the Empire. Finding himself therefore full of Anxiety and Suspicion, and at a Loss where to apply for Support, and being apprised that the French offered to give up Italy as a Prey to Cafar, he was of necessity obliged to have recourse to Temporifing and Diffimulation.

T 3

THE

1525.

THE Pontiff was at this Time employed in negotiating an Accommodation between the Venetians and the Viceroy, who, besides obliging themselves anew to defend the Dutchy of Milan for the future, demanded of them a very large Sum of Money by way of Satisfaction for Non-observance of the past Confederacy. Many were the Reasons which inclined the Venetians to yield to Neceffity, many which, on the contrary, moved them to stand in Suspense; so that their Counsels were variable, and full of Irrefolution. At last however, after many Disputes, astonished, like the rest, at so great a Victory of Casar, and feeing themselves standing alone and destitute on all Sides, they commissioned their Ambassador Pietro da Pefaro, who resided with the Viceroy, to confirm the League anew, in the same Manner as it had been done before, but paying Cæsar, in Satisfaction for what was past, Eighty Thousand Ducats. But the Viceroy farther infilting, and absolutely determining not to renew the Con-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

295

Confederacy unless they paid One Hun- A. D. dred Thousand, it happened, as it often falls out in Affairs which are debated with an ill Will, that so much Time was fpent in disputing about this small Sum, that the Venetians received Notice that the King of England was no longer fo much incenfed against the French as had been hitherto apprehended; and besides, such a Multitude of German Foot in the Imperial Army, after Payment of their Arrears, were dismissed, that the Venetian Senate, secure of not being molested for the present, resolved to stand a little longer in Suspense, and to referve to themselves, Treaty as much as possible, the Liberty of between taking such Resolutions as, from the roy and universal Progress of Affairs, they should winter miscarconclude to be most for their Advan-ries. tage.

THESE Causes, besides a constant Defire to put the Thing in Execution, flimulated the Viceroy and the other Generals to remove the Person of the French King into a secure Place, judg.

T 4

ing

A. D. ing that, from the bad Disposition of all around them, they could not keep him without Danger in the Dutchy of Milan. They resolved therefore to conduct him to Genoa, and from thence by Sea to Naples, in order to confine him, in Castel Nuovo, where an Apartment was already prepared for him. The King was extreamly concerned at this Refolution, for it had been his ardent Defire from the Beginning to be conducted to Spain, flattering himself I know not whether from imagining the patural Disposition of others the same with his own, or because Men are apt to deceive themselves with vain Hopes of what they eagerly defire, that, if he were once admitted to Cafar's Presence, he could. either trusting to his Goodness, or by the Conditions he intended to propose to him, eafily prevail upon him to fet him at Liberty. The Viceroy ardently defired the fame for the Exaltation of his own Glory, but being restrained from executing his Defign by Fear of the French Fleet, Montmorency, by common Consent, was dispatched to Madam the Re-

297

Regentess, and obtaining of her Six A. D. Light Gallies of those that were in the Port of Marseilles, on a Promise that, as foon as the King was arrived in Spain, they should be restored, he returned with them to Porto Fino, whither the Person of the King was already conducted. These Gallies, joined with Sixteen others of Cæsar's, that had at first been defigned to convey him to Naples, and all manned with Spanish Foot, on the Seventh Day of June set Sail, steering their Course for Spain (while King of not only the Italian Princes, but all the France Imperial Generals, and Bourbon, affured to Spain, themselves that the King was on his Voyage to Naples) and, after a prosperous Navigation, arrived in Eight Days at Roses, a Port of Catalonia, to the inexpressible Joy of Casar, who knew nothing till that Day of this Resolution. On the first Notice of the King's Arrival he gave Orders that, in all Places through which he passed, he should be received with the greatest Honours; but took Care however, till it should be otherwise determined, that he should be

be kept under safe Custody, in the Castle of Sciativa near Valentia, a Castle appropriated by the Kings of Aragon, in antient Times, to the Imprisonment of great Men, and in which the Duke of Calabria had last of all for many Years been confined. But this Refolution appearing too rigorous to the Viceroy, and very different from the Promises he had made the King in Italy, he obtained of Cæsar, by his Letters, that, till a new Resolution, he should have a Residence in a Country Seat near Valentia, where he had the Convenience of Hunting and other Diversions. After the Viceroy had fettled him in this Place under a sufficient Guard, leaving with him General Alarcone, in whose Custody he had continually remained, he waited, together with Montmorency, on Cæsar, to report to him the State of Italy, and of Affairs hitherto debated with the King, advising him, for many Reasons, to think seriously of coming to fome Agreement with him, fince he could expect no fincere Friendship, nor faithful Alliance from the Italians. Cæfar

Cæsar therefore, after he had heard the A. D. Viceroy and Montmorency, refolved that, 1525. the King of France should be conducted to Castile, and confined in the Castle of Madrid, a Place at a great Distance from the Sea, and from the Borders of France, where, tho' he was treated with all the Ceremonies and Reverence due to fo great a Prince, he was under careful and strict Custody, with Leave to ride out several Times in a Day on a Mule. Nor did Cæsar consent to admit him into his Presence till an Agreement should either be settled, or brought to fuch a Forwardness as should give certain Hopes of fettling it. And that this Agreement should be negotiated by an honourable Person, and in Effect the fame as the King, Montmorency was dispatched with Speed to France, to procure the Coming of the Dutchess of Alençon, the King's Sister, a Widow. with full Power to conclude an Accommodation; and, to prevent all Obstacles from new Difficulties, a Truce was foon after made between Cæsar and the Government of France till the End

A. D. of December next ensuing. Cæsar also ordered that Part of the Gallies which came with the Viceroy should return to Italy, for conveying the Duke of Bourbon to Spain, without whose Presence he declared he would make no Agreement; but the Gallies for Want of Money were but slowly equipped.

Cæsar seeming much disposed to an universal Peace among Christians, and at the same time to put in Order the Affairs of Italy, sollicited with many Instances the Pontiff to hasten the Departure of Cardinal Salviati, or of other proper Persons, with full Powers. And as he had determined to join in Matrimony with the Infanta of Portugal, his Cousin-German, and consequently related to him in the second Degree, he dispatched Lopes Urtado to Cæsar sues the Pontiff, to demand a Dispensation, for a Dispensation having first excused himself to the King

pensation having first excused himself to the King to marry of England, by declaring that he knew his Cousin not how to resist the Will of his People. By the same Lopes, who set out at the End of July, he sent the Privi-

leges

leges of the Investiture of the Dutchy A. D. of Milan to Francesco Sforza, on Condition of his paying down One Hundred Thousand Ducats, and obliging himself to pay Five Hundred Thousand more at different Times, and to take Salt from the Archduke his Brother. He also carried Orders for all the Troops His Orin the Marquisate of Saluzzo, except theders. Spanilb Foot, to be disbanded, that Six Hundred Men at Arms should return to the Kingdom of Naples, and the rest remain in the Dutchy of Milan, and that the Marquis of Pescara should be Captain General of the Army. To these Orders Casar added that a Sum of Money which he had remitted to Genoa for fitting out Four Caraques, with an Intention of passing immediately into Italy in Person, should be appropriated to the Use of the Arfor he had determined not to my. leave Spain at present, and that the Protonotary Carracciolo should repair from Milan to Venice, with a Commission to induce that Senate to a new Confederacy, or at least that every one might

might be fatisfied that all his Actions 1525. tended to the universal Peace of Christians.

Pope and Venetians uneafy at val of the King of France.

Bur the Removal of the King of France into Spain had given very great the Remo-Uneafiness to the Pope and the Venetians, because, as the Army of Cafar was pretty much diminished, it appeared to them that, in whatever Part of Italy the King's Person was confined, the Necessity of keeping him well guarded would sufficiently embarrass the Casareans; whence either fome Opportunity might eafily present itself for setting him at Liberty, or at the least the Difficulty of conducting him to Spain, or the little Security of holding him in Italy, would constrain Cafar to model the public Affairs by the Patterns of Honour and Justice. But when they faw that he was gone for Spain, and that he himself, deceived with vain Hopesby his Enemies, had furnished them with the Means for conveying him into a fecure Prison, they perceived that whatever was the Subject of Treaties or Debates

THE WARS IN ITALY.

was absolutely in the Power of Casar, A. D. and that nothing could be founded on the Negotiations and Offers of the French. Hence Cæsar's Reputation every Day increasing, the Laws of all Proceedings were begun to be expected from that Court.

Nor am I certain whether the Duke The fame of Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pesca-creates ra were not, tho' for different Reasons, standings as much diffatisfied that the Viceroy between had, without their Knowledge, conduct-Generals. ed the most Christian King to Spain: Bourbon, because, finding himself driven out of France on account of the Friendthip which he had contracted with the Emperor, it more concerned him than any other to be present at all the Negotiations for an Agreement; and therefore he was disposed to pass also himself into Spain, but being necessitated to wait the Return of the Gallies which were gone with the Viceroy, he delayed his Departure longer than he could have wished: And the Marquis was

A. D. not only provoked at his being flighted by the Viceroy, but also dissatisfied with Cæsar for not acknowledging, of Pescara he fancied, in a due Proportion, on what Merits, and the noble Exploits per-Grounds. formed by him in the late Wars, especially in the Battle of Pavia, from which Victory he had acquired more Glory than all the rest of the Generals, and yet it seemed to him that Cafar was lavish enough of his Acknowledgments to the Viceroy, bestowing on him all his Praises, and Marks of Esteem. This the Marquis no longer able to bear, wrote Letters to Cafar full of most bitter Invectives against the Viceroy, complaining that he had been undeservedly slighted by him to fuch a Degree as not to be thought worthy to be at least privy to such a Refolution; and that if Matters had been ordered, and Measures taken in pursuance of the Viceroy's Counsels and Determination, not only the King of France would not have been taken, but as foon as Milan was lost the Cafarean Army would have abandoned the Defence of Lombardy,

Lombardy, and retired to Naples: That A. D. he was gone to triumph for a Victory 1525. in which it was notorious to the whole Army that he had no Share; and that being in the Heat of the Battle he lost all Courage and Counfel, and was heard by many to cry out feveral Times, "We are undone;" which, if he should deny it, he offered himself ready to prove to his Face, according to the military Laws, with Arms in Hand. The Discontent of the Marquis was increased, because when, immediately after the Victory, he had fent to take Possession of Carpi, with an Intention to obtain that Town of Cæsar for himself, his Desire was frustrated, because Cæsar, having granted it to Prospero Colonna two Years before, declared that, tho' he had never received the Investiture, he was resolved, for the Benefit of Vespasiano his Son, to preferve to the Memory of Prospero dead that Reward which he had given to the Merit and Services of him living. This Reason, tho' it was just and grateful, and the Marquis ought to have been pleased with Examples of Grati-VOL. VIII. tude,

A. D. tude, if on no other account, yet because they increased the Hopes that his great Services would in time come to be rewarded. had however no Effect upon him. For, as he had a high Opinion of himfelf, he thought it fit that this defire in him, sprung from a covetous Ambition, and an implacable Hatred born to the Name of Prospero, should be preferred to all other, tho' never so just, Regards. Wherefore he made most heavy Complaints against Casar and the whole Council, and lamented his Cafe fo publicly in Italy, and with fuch Deteftations of Cafar's Ingratitude, as gave Encouragement to others to attempt the Execution of new Projects. Hence was Cæsar, even if he had entertained no Thoughts of making any farther Seifures in Italy, furnished with a just Cause, and in a manner necessitated to form new Schemes; and even, suppofing that he had ambitious Ends, he had Opportunities of covering them with the most plausible Pretences, and most specious Colourings that his Heart could have wished; and because this was the Origin

THE WARS IN ITALY.

307

and

Origin of very great Movements, it is A. D. necessary that it should be very particularly explained.

THE War which, in the Time of Causes of Leo X. was commenced by him and new Com-Cæfar for driving the King of France Italy. out of Italy, was undertaken under Pretence of restoring Francesco Sforza to the Dutchy of Milan; and tho' in the Execution of it, after the Victory was obtained, he was put in possession of that State, and of the Castle of Milan, and of the other Fortresses as soon as they were recovered, yet, from the Splendor and flourishing State of that Dutchy, and the Conveniency of its Situation, many were still apprehensive, as they had been from the Beginning, that Cæfar aspired to the Sovereignty, fancying to themselves that the powerful Opposition which he met with from the King of France was the Cause that as yet he concealed his ambitious Defire, because he would otherwise have put the People in a Ferment, who were ardently defirous of Francesco Storza, U 2

A. D. and have stirred up against him all 1525. Italy, which would by no means be fatisfied at such an Increase of his Grandeur. Francesco Sforza therefore held that Dutchy, but under very great Subjection, and Burdens almost intolerable. For his whole Refort for defending himfelf against the French consisting in Cæfar and his Army, he was necessitated not only to respect him as his Prince, but also to stoop to the Will of his Generals, and was forced to maintain those Troops which were not paid by Cafar, sometimes by giving them Money, which he drew from his Subjects with very great Strainings and Difficulties, fometimes by fuffering them to live at Discretion, now in one Quarter, then in another of his State, except in the City of Milan. These Proceedings, tho' very grievous in themselves, were yet rendered intolerable by the Temper of the Spaniards, which is avaricious, fraudulent, and, when they have Room for displaying their natural Difposition, most insolent. The Dangers however which hung over the People from

from the French, to whom they were A. D. bitter Enemies, and the Hopes that their Troubles would some Time or other have an End, made them bear even beyond their Strength, and more than their Means would admit. But after the Victory of Pavia the People could no longer endure to fee the fame Necessities ceased, since the King was taken Prisoner, and yet to feel themselves labouring under the same Calamities, and therefore demanded that all or the greater Part of the Army should be removed out of that Dutchy. The Duke, who had hitherto enjoyed nothing of the Sovereignty but the bare Name, was eagerly defirous of the Removal, and the more because he apprehended that Cæsar, now secure of the King of France, would either seize on his State for himfelf, or grant it to Persons who should This Suspiwholly depend on him. cion, which arose from the very Nature of Things, was not a little increased by the infolent Speeches thrown out by the Viceroy before he conducted the King of France into Spain, and also by the U 3 other

A. D. other Generals, and by the Marks of Difrespect which they shewed to the Cesar suf. Duke, as well as by their openly wishpetted of ing that Cæsar would oppress him, but aspiring to much more when Cæsar having, after the Dutmany Delays, put into the Hands of chy of Milan. the Viceroy the Articles of the Investiture, that Minister, in offering it to the Duke, had demanded that, for the Reimbursement of the Charges which Cafar Causes of had been at for the Acquisition and Suspicion. Defence of that State, he should pay at certain Times One Million and Two Hundred Thousand Ducats: So exorbitant a Charge, that the Duke was obliged to have recourse to Cæsar for reducing it to a tolerable Sum*! But these Difficulties raised a Doubt that those extravagant Demands were interposed in order to delay the Investiture. have fince been alledged, by those who have endeavoured to excuse Francesco Sforza from Necessity, many other Causes

The Viceroy in making this Demand affirmed that it was not by way of Sale, for the Emperor had spent a greater Sum in acquiring that State. Capella.

Causes that justly raised his Suspicion, A. D. and particularly his having received 1525. Notice that the Generals had appointed to detain him, for which Reason, when he was called by the Viceroy to a certain Meeting, he had refused to go. feigning himself sick; and observed the fame Caution as to all other Places where they had it in their Power to offer him Violence. This Suspicion, whether true or vain, was the Cause that when he faw there were but few Troops left in the Dutchy of Milan, Part of the Spaniards being gone, first with the Viceroy, and afterwards with Bourbon into Spain, and many also who had enriched themselves by such vast Plunder, having retired one after another into various Places, and confidered also the high Indignation which appeared in the Marquis of Pescara, applying his Thoughts on fecuring himfelf from this Danger, he entered into Hopes that, with the Consent of the Marquis, he might get rid of the Army. The Author of this Counsel was Girolamo Morone, his Great Chancellor, and of the highest Authority U 4

A. D. rity with him, and for his Wit, Elo1525. quence, Dexterity, Invention, and Excharacter perience, and for his often refifting, with
of Morone. the greatest Constancy, the Shocks of
adverse Fortune, was a noted Man in
our Times, and would have been more
fo, if those Talents had been accompanied with a greater Sincerity of Mind,
a Love of Honesty and Justice, and
with such a Maturity of Judgment, as
that his Counsels had not been often rather precipitous or imprudent, than honourable and circumspect.

This Minister, sounding the Mind of the Marquis in their private Conference, pushed the Matter so far that they had under Debate the cutting those Troops in Pieces, and making the Marquis King of Naples, provided they could procure the Concurrence of the Pope and Venetians. The Pontiss, full of Suspicion and Anxiety, being consulted by the Direction of Morone, did not seem at all averse to the Project, but, on the other hand, not to discover the Plot, but to prepare himself a Resuge in case

it did not succeed, under a Show of A. D. Affection, admonished Cæsar to keep 1525. his Generals well contented. The Venetians embraced the Scheme with great Eagerness, and every one persuaded themselves they should find no less Readiness in the Mother of the King of France, who was already fensible that fince her Son was arrived in Spain his Deliverance would not proceed with that Facility as had been imagined. It is not doubted but that such a Project would have succeeded, if the Marquis of Pescara had fincerely proceeded against Cæsar; but whether he hearkened to those Counsels at first, or not, there are various Opinions even among the Spaniards, and in the Court of Cæsar itfelf. The Generality, making an Estimate of the Times, and of the Movements of Affairs, have believed that, in the Beginning, he really concurred with the rest, but that afterwards, on confidering the Multitude of Difficulties that might arise in Process of Time, and deterred especially by the continuA. D. al Negotiations of the French with Ca-1525 far, and at last by the Resolution taken to fend the Dutchess of Alençon to Cæfar, he took other Measures. Some go farther, and affirm that he fo long delayed to give Notice to Cafar of the Innovations that were contriving in Italy, till Advice of the Plot coming from Antonio da Leva and Marino Abbot of Nagera, Commissary in the Casarean Army, all the Court stood amazed at the Silence of the Marquis. But, however the Case then stood, it is certain that not long after he fent Giovanni Battista Castaldo to Cæsar, and laid open to him the whole Plot, and by his Consent continued the same Practices: and, what is more, that he might dive into the Thoughts of every one, and deprive them of all Shifts and Power of ever denying that they had given their Confent to the Plot, he undertook of himself to speak of it to the Duke of Milan, and persuaded Morone to use his Interest with the Pontiff, who had very lately conferred upon him the perpetual Government of the City of Benevento.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 315

himself corresponded with the greatest 1525.

Professions of Friendship and Service, so League far that his Holiness deputed Domenico forming Sauli, a Genoese, with a Brief of Cre-against dentials, to confer with him on the same Subject.

THE Articles under Debate were in The Arti-Substance, That between the Pope, the cles. Government of France, and other States of Italy should be contracted a League. of which the Marquis of Pescara was to be constituted Captain General; and that the faid Marquis, after distributing the Spanish Infantry into Quarters in different Places in the Dutchy of Milan, should put himself at the Head of those who were willing to follow him. and that the rest with Antonio da Leva. who was next to him in Command, should be stripped and put to the Sword: And that the Enterprise on the Kingdom of Naples should be undertaken by the joint Forces of all the Confederates in favour of the Marquis, on whom the Pope was to confer the Investiture.

A. D: To all this the Marquis seemed to interpose no other Difficulty than that he was willing, before he ventured any farther, to be well satisfied that he could undertake fuch an Enterprise without staining his Honour and Loyalty, case it should be commanded him by the Pope. On this Point it came to be confidered, to whom the Marquis, who was a Native, and a Baron of the Kingdom of Naples, owed most Obedience, whether to Cafar, who, by the Investiture of the Church, had the Profits of the Dominion of that Kingdom, or to the Pontiff, who, by virtue of being supreme Lord, had the direct Dominion. On this Article, both at Milan, by Order of Francesco Sforza, and at Rome, by Appointment of the Pope, the ablest Civilians were consulted very privately, with a Suppression of the true Names.

THE Hopes conceived against Caesar were increased by the Offers of the Princess Regent, who imagining that Caesar's Necessities, or at least his Fears would

would promote the Treaty that was in A. D. Agitation for the Delivery of her Son, 1525. follicited the taking up Arms, promifing to fend into Lombardy Five Hundred Lances, and to contribute a great Sum of Money towards the Expences. Nor was Morone wanting to confirm the Minds of the rest in this Resolution; for, besides demonstrating the Facility, even without the Assistance of the Marquis of Pescara, of destroying that Army, which was confiderably diminished in Number, he promised, in the Name of the Duke, that if the Marquis did not stand firm to the Meafures concerted, as foon as the other Defigns were in Readinels, he should be fecured in the Castle together with the other Commanders who daily reforted thither to confult. Though these Opportunities appeared very promising, they would not have been thought by the Pontiff sufficient to induce him to take up Arms without the Marquis of Pescara, if, at the same time, he had not heard that Provisions were ordered to Genoa for fitting out Four Caraques, and

A. D. and had also received Information from Spain of Cafar's Inclination to pass into Italy. These Advices creating him vast Uneasiness, both from the Condition of the present Times, and from the inveterate Disposition of the Roman Pontiffs, to whom nothing used to be more dreadful than the Coming of Roman Emperors armed into Italy, out of a Defire to obviate that Danger, he dispatched, with Consent of the Venetians, privately to France, one Sigismondo, Secretary to Alberto da Carpi, a Perfon of Dexterity, and a great Confident of the Pope, in order to conclude the Treaty negotiated with Madam the Regentefs. Sigismondo, riding Post, was murdered in the Night by some High-Envoy to waymen, near the Lago d' Iseo, in the Territory of Brescia. This Accident not coming to Light for many Days, the Pontiff much doubted that the Man had been way-laid, and taken privately into some Place by Orders of the Imperial Generals, and perhaps of the Marquis himself, whose Proceedings, on account

Pope's France murdered.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

319 1525.

of the Delays which he interposed, be- A. D. gan to be much suspected.

In this State of Affairs arrived Dispatches given by Cæsar to Lopes Urtado, who lying fick in Savoy, fent them by a proper Mefsenger to Milan, with Letters Patent, vesting the Office of Captain General in the Person of the Marquis of Pescara, Marquisof who, to continue in the fame Diffimu-made lation with the others, pretended that Captain he was not very well pleased with his General. Advancement, tho' he immediately accepted of the Patent. He carried also a Commission to the Protonotary Caracciolo to repair to Venice in the Name of Cæsar, for inducing that Senate to a new Confederacy, or at least for satisfying all Persons of Cæsar's Desire to live in Peace with all Christian Powers. Francesco Sforza, who began already to labour under a dangerous Disorder, accepted of the Investiture of the Dutchy, and paid towards the Cost Fifty Thoufand Ducats, but did not on that account break off the Negotiation begun with the Marquis.

VARIOUS

A. D.

VARIOUS were the Opinions whether these Dispatches or Instructions of Cæsar were sincere or artificial; for many believed that it was not his real Intention to give Peace to Italy: Others doubted that, under Fear of new Movements, he was willing to keep Men under Suspence with various Hopes. and thought of gaining Time by granting the Investiture, and giving in Appearance a Commission for calling off the Army, which would be highly acceptable to all Italy, but that he had given private Orders to his Generals not to remove the Troops. Nor were there wanting afterwards fome who perfuaded themselves that Cæsar was before well informed by the Marquis of Pefcara of the Plot carried on with Morone, and had therefore given fuch Orders, that they should be obeyed. but should serve for his Justification, and by these Hopes to lull the Minds of the People in Security till a proper Time appeared for putting his Defigns in Execution. It being very difficult,

Dubious Step of Cafar. in so doubtful a Case, to come to the A. D. Knowledge of the Truth, especially since it is not known whether at the Time when Giovanni Battista Castaldo, sent by the Marquis to make a Discovery of the Plot, arrived at the Court, Lopes Utardo had been as yet dispatched; but, considering the Steps taken asterwards by Cæsar in many Affairs, it is without Doubt less fabulous to adopt for Truth the better and more favourable Interpretation.

THE Marquis in the mean time con-Marquis tinued to entertain Morone and the rest of Pescara with the same Hopes, and yet to delay the his Diffi-Execution under various Pretences, for mulations which he had an Opportunity given him by the Sickness of the Duke of Milan, which increased to such a Degree that every one expected his Death. For all the Generals pretending that in such a Case that State would revert to Cafar, the supreme Lord of the Fief, the Marquis would not only be prevented from removing the Army, but be under a Necessity of sending for Two VOL. VIII. Thou1525.

Thousand more German Foot, and to give Orders for keeping in Readiness a greater Number. Such a powerful Body of Forces, quartered in the Dutchy of Milan, he alledged would deprive him of the Means of difbanding or injuring them, but gave them Hopes that he would execute the Measures concerted between them as foon as ever it lay in his Power. In the mean time, while an Opportunity was expected, to declare to the World, by his Proceedings, the profound Reverence he had for the Pontiff, he freed the State of the Church from the Garrisons of which his Holiness had made such heavy Complaints.

to have introduced a new Scene of Affairs: For the King of France, extremely mortified at Caefar's refusing to afford him his Presence when he requested it, took it so much to Heart that

he fell into a Disorder while he was in the Castle of Medrid, which reduced him to such Extremity, that the

Bur at the same time a new Accident that happened in Spain had like

Physician

King of France fick and recovers.

A. D. 1525.

Physicians appointed to attend him fignified to Cæfar that there were no Hopes of his Recovery if he himself did not come in Person to comfort him, and give While he him Hopes of his Liberty. was proposing to go, his great Chancellor disfuaded him, telling him that his Honour required him not to go thither, unless with a Disposition to release him immediately, and without any Sort of Convention: Otherwise it would be not a royal but mercenary Humanity, and a Defire to procure his Recovery not out of a Tenderness of his Health, but purely from a Regard to Self-interest, and a Fear of losing by his Death the Opportunity of reaping the Fruits expected from the Victory: Advice certainly deferving Remembrance, and worthy to be accepted by fo great a Prince; but others counselling him to the contrary, he fet out Post to pay the King a Visit. The Visitation was but short, because the most Christian King lay, in a manner, at the Point of Death, but full of kind Words, and certain Affurances of Releasement immediately upon Reco-

X 2

very,

A. D. very. And, whatever was the Cause,
whether the Consolation which he received, or that Youth was of itself superior
to the Nature of the Disorder, he began
after this Visit to find such Relief, that in
a few Days he was out of Danger, tho' he
was but slow in recovering his former
Health.

Bur neither the Difficulties which appeared on the Part of Cæsar, nor the Hopes given by the Italians, had diverted the Journey of Madame d' Alencon to Spain, because nothing was more difficult to the French than to break off the Negotiations for an Agreement with those who had it in their Power to restore them their King; and nothing more easy to Casar than by feeding the French with Hopes to divert them from the Thoughts of taking up Arms, and by this Artfulness to keep the Italians in Suspence, so that they should not venture to take new Resolutions: And thus fometimes by flackening, fometimes by straining the Reins of his Conduct,

Artful Conduct of Caefar.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

225

he held the Minds of all in Confusion and A. D. Perplexity.

MADAME d' Alençon met with the Marks of a gracious Reception, and Hopes from Cafar, but the Success of her Affair proved hard and difficult. For in the Conference on the Fourth Day of October, when she requested of him his Widow Sister in Marriage for the King, Cæfar answered her Demand by faying that it was not in his Power without the Consent of the Duke of Bourbon. The other Particulars were debated by Commissioners appointed on each Side, Caefar obstinately infifting on the Restitution of Burgundy as his proper Inheritance, and the French not consenting unless he would either receive it in Dowry, or have it legally tried to which of the two Princes it belonged; in the other Conditions the Parties might have eafily come to an Agreement. But there remaining fo wide a Difference between them in the Affair of Burgundy, Madam d' Alençon at last returned into France, without ob-X 3 taining

A. D. taining any other End by her Journey than the Opportunity of seeing her Brother, who, at parting with her, de-Madam d' Alençon returns to spairing now more than ever of his France Liberty, is faid to have ordered her to without recommend, on his Part, to his Mother Success and those of the Council, a strict Regard to the Honour and Benefit of the Crown of France, without any Confideration of his Person any more than if he were dead. The Negotiations, however, were not interrupted by her Departure, for there remained the President of Paris, with the Bishops of Ambrun and Tarbe, who had been treating till now, but with small Hopes, Cafar not hearkening to any Condition without the Restitution of Burgundy, nor

Cardinal
Salviati
Pope's
Legate to
Casar

At this Time arrived at Court Cardinal Salviati, the Pope's Legate: He was received by Cæsar with very great Honour, and began to treat of the Heads of his Commission, which principally contained the Ratissication of the Articles

the King confenting to yield it up with-

out the utmost Necessity.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

Articles stipulated by the Viceroy, sol- A. D. liciting also the Grant of the Invesliture to the Duke of Milan for the common Security, But the Viceroy himself disfluaded the Restitution of Reggio and Rubiera, and by his Advice, and encouraged by the Hopes he had given him, the Duke of Ferrara, defirous of managing his own Cause at the Court of Calar, having obtained of the Pontiff a Promise that his State should not be molested by him for fix Months, took a Progress as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of France, with a Refolution to pass forwards; but the Regentess refusing him a Pass, he returned at last to Ferrara.

THERE came also on the Carpet the Caule, between the Pontiff and Casar, of obtaining a Dispensation for enabling Cafar to join in Matrimony with the Sister of the King of Portugal, whom he was determined to marry, tho' he had formerly promifed the King of England with an Oath, that he would never take any other for his Wife than X 4 that

A. D. that King's Daughter. The Pontiff
1525.
proceeded but flowly in granting this Dispensation, being persuaded by many that the Desire of obtaining this Favour would render Cæsar more easy of Compliance in the Points under Debate; or at least that it was an imprudent Step, if a War should break out between them, to furnish him with Means for accumulating such a Mass of Money as he would certainly accumulate by this Matrimony; for the King of Portugal offered him in Dowry Nine Hundred Thousand Ducats, from which deducting that Part which by Agreement was to be allowed in Payment of Debts contracted by him to the King, it was fupposed there would remain clear to him at least Five Hundred Thousand Ducats, besides Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, which, his own People consented to give him for what they called Service-Money, which, taking its Rife in antient Times from the Free Will of the People to succour the Necessities of their Kings, was reduced to an ordinary and stated Subsidy; and they offered besides to give him Four Hundred A. D. Thousand more in case he consummated 1525. this Matrimony. On the other fide the Pontiff knew not how to refift the Importunities of the Duke of Seffa, the Cæsarean Ambassador: For you might Foible of observe in him an almost constant Re-Pope pugnance between the Disposition Things and the Execution of them, fince being by Nature extreamly averse from granting any Favour demanded of him, he knew not also how to raise Difficulties, or to refuse with Constancy, but often suffered his Will to be overcome by the Importunities of the Petitioners; fo that seeming for the most part to grant what was requested more out of Fear than Favour, he did not proceed in this Part of his Conduct with that Constancy, nor with that Majesty which the Greatness of his Dignity. and the Importance of the Business under Negotiation required. Thus it happened with respect to the Dispensation that was demanded, where, amidst the inward Struggles of his own Interest on one Side, and his Softness on the other,

he eased himself, as his Custom was. on the Backs of others, of a Load which, I know not whether for want of Boldness, or Constancy of Resolution, he was unable to support himself. expedited by a Brief the Dispensation in the Form demanded by Cæfar, and fent it to Cardinal Salviati, with an Order that, if his Affairs with Casfar took a happy Turn, as he was made to believe they would, the Cardinal, as foon as he arrived at Court, should give the Brief to Cæsar; otherwise should keep it in his Custody: A Commission in which the Servant, as shall appear in its proper Place, shewed as much Weakness and Inconstancy as his Lord.

But while the Cardinal was negotiating with Cæsar on the Heads of his Instructions, and was continually sed with Hopes that they would be ratified according to his Desire, there sell out in Lombardy Events of a very different Tendency. For the Duke of Milan being relieved from his Disorder in such a manner as to make it believed that he

was at least out of Danger of dying A. D. foon, the Marquis of Pescara, who had 1525. Orders from Cæsar by Castaldo abovementioned to provide against those Dangers by fueh Means as he thought most convenient, resolved to make himself Master of the Dutchy of Milan, under a Pretence that the Duke, by the Plot which he had carried on with the Affistance of Morone, had forfeited the Rights of Investiture, and that the Fief was reverted to Cæfar, the supreme Lord. The Marquis therefore being at Novara, tho' labouring under a considerable Disorder, Part of the Army being at Pavia, and the Germans quartered about Lodi, which two Cities he had caused to be fortified, sent unexpectedly for the Troops quartered in Piedmont and in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, which last they had seized soon after the Victory, to come to Novara, under colour of distributing them into Quarters through the whole State of Milan. He sent also for Morone, in whose Person it may be said, consisted the Importance of every Thing; for it

was

A. D. was certain that as foon as he should be secured the Duke of Milan, being left destitute of Men and Counsel, would make no Resistance; but while he was at Liberty it might be doubted that by his Parts, by his Experience, and by his Reputation, he would greatly obstruct the Execution of his Designs. It was also necessary that Cæsar should have in his Power the Person of Morone, who had been the Author and Instrument of all the fecret Practices, that he might be enabled, from his Process, to justify the Charge against the Duke of Milan. There is nothing more difficult to avoid than Fate, and there is no Remedy against predestined Misfortunes. Morone might long fince have known that what was concerted with the Marquis of Pescara would not take Effect, he knew that he was extreamly hated by all the Spanish Soldiers, who already ralked very freely of his Unfaithfulness, and that Antonio da Leva had threatened in Public to have him affassinated. It is not to be supposed that he had not considered the Importance of his Person.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

A. D.

Person, and that he had not confidered the melancholy Condition of the Duke of Milan, at that Time useless and of no more Signification than if he were dead. Not many Days before the Plotters had been in Suspence, and full of Jealousies among themselves, every one advised him, not to go, and he himself stood in doubt whether to go or not. And yet, whether he had his Mind still posfeffed with the Diffimulation and Artifices of the Marquis, or relied on the great Friendship which he fancied he had contracted with him, or trufting to his Word of Honour, which, as he faid afterwards, he had obtained of him in one of his Letters, or, to speak more truly, drawn by that Necessity which drags along those who will not fuffer themselves to be led, he resolved to go as it were to a manifest Prison: A Conduct to me the more furprifing as I remember to have heard Morone fay feveral Times in the Army, in the Time of Leo, that there was not a Man in Italy of greater Malignity, or of less Faith than the Marquis of Pef-

cara.

334

Morone was kindly received by A. D. him, and they conferred together in a Chamber by themselves on the first Scheme of the Plot, and of cutting the Throats of the Spaniards and of Antonio da Leva, but in a Place where Antonio, whom the Marquis had concealed behind some Hangings of Tapestry, heard all the Discourse, and who, as foon as the Marquis was gone, it being the Fourteenth day of October, took Morone into Custody, and committed him the Castle of Pavia, whither the Marquis himself went to examine him on the Particulars of what they had debated together, and where he gave an ample Detail of the whole Proceeding of the Conspiracy, accusing the Duke of Milan as privy to every Thing, which was the chief Point in View.

Morone made a Prifoner.

to me the more furnishing a MORONE being imprisoned, the Mar-Demands of the Marquisofquis, who was before in Possession of Pescara Lodi and Pavia, demanded of the Duke on the Duke of that, for Security of the Emperor's State, Milan. he would give Orders for refigning into his Hands the City of Cremona, and the

the Fortresses of Trezzo, Lecco, and A. D. Pizzichitone, which, for their Situation, on the Passes of the Adda, are accounted the Keys of the Dutchy of Milan. promifing, on Compliance to make no further Innovation. The Duke finding himself bare of every Thing, and destitute of Counsel and Hopes, immediately ordered the Places to be put into the Hands of the Marquis, who, after this was done, demanded farther to be admitted into the City of Milan, to confer, as he faid, with the Duke; which was granted with the fame Facility. As foon as he was entered Milan he fent to infift on the Delivery of the Castle of Cremona, not requiring that of Milan, because it was an improper Demand, fince that Fortress was the Residence of the Duke's Person; he demanded however that, for the Security of Cafar's Army, the Duke should consent that the Castle should be furrounded with an Entrenchment. Moreover he required him to deliver into his Hands Gian Angelo Riccio his Secretary, and Politiano, Secretary of Morone, that they might be examined on

of their having acted against Casar.

The Duke's Answer.

To these Demands the Duke answered that he held the Castles of Milan and Cremona in the Name, and at the Request of Cæsar, to whom he had always been a most faithful Vassal, and that he would not refign them to any one before he knew his Will, which that he might clearly understand he would immediately depute to him a proper Person, provided the Marquis would grant him a Passport; and that it did not appear to him confisent with Decency to consent to be in the mean time shut up in a Castle, from which Violence he would defend himself by any Means that lay in his Power: That he could not part with Gian Angelo, because he was intrusted in all his important Affairs, and was the only Minister he had at present about him; and that he had still greater Need of Morone's Secretary, in order to bring him before Cæfar, and by his Evidence to justify himself, in proving that during

during his Sickness his Master had, in A. D. his Name, without his Knowledge, made many Dispatches, which might be laid to his Charge, if he did not by this Means justify his Innocence, and make it appear that the Bufiness and Correspondence of Morone were different and separate from what concerned him. At last, after a Multitude of Protestations and Replies that passed from one to the other in writing, the Marquis constrained the People of Milan to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, contrary to their Will, and with extream Reluctance and Mortification of all Parties, he bestowed Offices through the State in the Name of Cæsar, and began to cast an Entrenchment about the Castle of Gremona, and that of Milan, in which the Duke, being mightily encouraged with the Hopes of Relief given him by the Pope and Venetians, was determined to defend himself, having with him Eight Hundred chosen Men, and furnished it with as great a Stock of Provisions as the Shortness of Time would permit. Nor did he omit to obstruct VOL. VIII. Y

28 31/28 90

A. D. as much as possible the Working on 1525. the Trenches, which were carried along on the Outside, with a Ditch before them, at a greater Distance from the Castle than those cast up by Prospero Colonna.

ALL Italy was alarmed, and with Reason, on the Seizure of the Dutchy of Milan, being sensible that there would be no way left to avoid manifest Slavery whenever Cafar should become Lord of Milan and Naples. The Pontiff above all was afflicted, feeing, with utmost Concern, those Negotiations which he had carried on with fuch Secrecy, not only for the Security of Milan, but for the Destruction of Cafar's Army, and depriving him of the Kingdom of Naples, all blown up, and laid open to the World. This Discovery, perhaps, procured the Marquis of Pescara Favour with Cafar, but in the Sight of all others eternal Infamy, not only because most People were still possessed with an Opinion that in the Beginning he had really an Intention to fall off from

from Cæsar, but also because, on a Sup-A. D:
position that he had been always faithful to him, it was esteemed an infa-Conduct
mous Piece of Treachery to have given of Pescara
Encouragement to Men, and drawn
them in by such a Strain of Doubledealing, and over-reaching Arts of Fraud,
to enter into a Conspiracy with him, on
purpose that he might have an Opportunity to detect them, and to make himself
great out of the Sins of others procured by his own Deceits and Subtleties.

THIS Change in the Face of Affairs damped the Hopes of an Agreement, which was negotiated by the Protonotary Caracciolo with the Venetian Senate, and was in such a Forwardness as to seem drawing to a Conclusion, by which the Venetians would have been obliged to renew the first Confederacy on the same Conditions, and to pay unto Cafar, in Recompense of past Failings and Omissions, Eighty Thousand Ducats, excluding all Demands of future Contributions in Money. But this new Event which happened at Milan threw the Senate Y 2 into

A. D. into very great Perplexity, being on one hand vastly concerned to find themselves the only Power left in Italy to make Refistance against Cæsar, with the Danger, already threatened by the Marquis of Pescara, of having the War transferred into their own Dominions, for which Purpose there appeared already some Preparations; and no less embarraffed on the other hand, as knowing how mightily an Agreement with themfelves would facilitate to Cæfar the Acquifition of the Milanese, which added to so many States, and to so many other Advantages, was the ready Way to bring themselves, with all the rest of Italy, under the Yoke. This Reflection was enforced by the continual and pathetic Persuasions of the Bishop of Bajeux, whom Madam the Regentess had appointed to treat of a Union between herself and the Italians against Cæsar. In this Exigency their Consultations were frequent, but dubious, and full of various Opinions; and, tho' it were most conformable to their Custom to accept of an Agreement, because it removed the

the present Danger, whence they might A. D. have Hopes to trust their Affairs to Length of Time, and to Opportunities that Republics, which, in Comparison to Princes, are immortal, have Reason to expect, yet it appeared also to them a Matter of too much Importance that Cæsar should establish himfelf in the State of Milan, and that the French should be excluded from all Hopes of having any Friend or Ally in Italy. Wherefore, being determined at last to enter into no Obligation, they answered the Protonotary Caracciolo, That their past Conduct was sufficient Answer of Evidence to all the World, and he him-the Venetifelf, who had been present at the Con-Imperial clusion of the Confederacy, was a good Plenipo-tentiary. Witness, how much they always coveted the Friendship of Cæsar, with whom they had confederated at a Time when their joining with the French would have been, as every one knew, of mighty Importance: And that they had always persevered, and now more than ever, in the same Disposition; but that they were of necessity held in Sus-Y 3 pense

A. D. 1525; pense by observing a Change of so great Importance newly made in Lombardy, and especially when they reflected that both their Confederacy with Cafar, and so many other Movements which had been set on Foot of late Years in Italy, were made for no other End than with a Defign that the Dutchy of Milan should be settled on Francesco Sforza, as the principal Foundation of the Liberty and Security of Italy. Wherefore they intreated his Majesty, that, acting in this Case suitably to his own Temper, and known Goodness, he would remove this Innovation, and establish the Repose of Italy, as it was in his Power to do it, fince he should always find them most readily disposed, both by their Authority and Forces, to follow this holy Inclination; nor would they ever give him any Cause to charge them with being wanting in any good Office that concerned either the univerfal Good, or his own particular Interests. This Answer giving no Hopes of a Conclusion, did not however produce a Rupture and Hostilities, because the Disorder of the Marquis of Pescara A. Dincreased every Day, and Cæsar's De-1525. Sire of first making himself Master of the whole State of Milan, and to establish that Acquisition on a firm Bottom, and so many other Affairs which lay upon his Hands, and wanted first to be dispatched, gave him no Leisure to set about an Enterprise of such great Moment.

Bourbon was by this time arrived, Memoraand on the Fourteenth Day of Novemble Paffage of
ber he appeared at the Imperial Court. Bourbon.
Of this Nobleman it deserves to be recorded that, tho' he was received by
Cæsar with all the Demonstrations of
Honour and Regard, and caressed as a
Brother-in-Law, yet all the Lords of
the Court, who are accustomed, as it
always happens, to follow, in other Cases,
the Example of their Prince, abhorred
him as an infamous Person, calling him
a Traitor to his own King; and, what
is more, when one of them was requested, in the Name of Cæsar, to consent that his Palace should be afsigned
Y 4

A. D. him for his Lodgings, he answered, with a Castilian Greatness of Soul, that he would not refuse Cæsar whatever he pleased to desire, but knew that as soon as Bourbon should leave it, he should set it on Fire, as a Palace infected with Bourbon's Infamy, and unworthy to be inhabited by Men of Honour.

But the Honour paid by Cæsar to the Duke of Bourbon increased the Despondency of the French, who, on this account, and more by the Return of Madam d' Alençon without Effect, entertaining but small Hopes of an Agreement, tho' it was continually negotiated by proper Persons residing at Casar's Court, infifted with all Eagerness on making a League with the Pope, in which they were feconded by the Advice and Authority of the King of England, and by the frequent and earnest Sollicitations of the Venetians. Besides. there offered itself an Opportunity doubtless of great Moment, for about this Time, which was in the Beginning of December,

December, died the Marquis of Pescara, A. D. perhaps by the just Judgment of God, _______ who would not suffer him to enjoy the Death and Fruits of that Seed which he had fown Character with fo much Malignity *. This Gen-of the Marquisof tleman was of the House of Avalos, by Pescara. Origin a Catalan, his Ancestors came into Italy with King Alfonso of Aragon, who first of that House conquered the Kingdom of Naples. Since the Battle of Ravenna, in which, while yet a Youth, he was taken Prisoner, he served in all the Wars of the Spaniards in Italy, fo that, tho' young in Years, for he was not past Six and Thirty, he was old in Experience, ingenious, courageous, very diligent, and very crafty, and in vast Credit and Favour with the Spanish Soldiers, of which he had been a long Time

^{*} The Marquis of Pescara was of the Davala Family in New Castile, near Toledo, rather antient than illustrious. He died of a lingering Consumption, occasioned by his continual drinking of Water, and the many Fatigues and Watchings that he endured in the Wars. He was buried at Milan, November 30, 1525, and afterwards carried to Naples, and interred in the Church of San Domenico.

A. D. Time Captain General, whence the Victory of Pavia, and all the memorable Exploits performed by that Army for the Space of some Years, were principally owing to his Counsel and Conduct. He was a General certainly of great Worth, but one who knew very well by his Artifices and Diffimulation how to promote and increase his own Interest, was also haughty, treacherous, malicious, void of Sincerity, and worthy, as he often used to wish, of having Spain for his native Country rather than Italy. His Death then occasioned considerable Confusion in that Army, with which he was in fuch great Favour and Reputation, and put others in Hopes that it might be destroyed with much greater Eafe, fince it was deprived of a General of fuch great Worth and Authority. Those Powers, therefore. who were defirous that a League should be made, were so much the warmer and more importunate in their Instances with the Pontiff. on the other hand his Doubts and Sufpensions were equivalent, and justly; for

THE WARS IN ITALY. . 347

very persuasive Arguments offered them. A. D. selves on both Sides of the Question, sufficient to puzzle and perplex a Man however warm and resolute, and much more Clement, who always proceeded slowly and with Deliberation in his Affairs.

IT was no longer expected that Cæfar would take any Resolution for the Security of Italy, he seemed very intent on making himself Master of the Castle of Milan, which being taken, all the other Powers, and especially the Pope, whose State was but weak, and situated in the Midst between Lombardy and the Kingdom of Naples, would manifestly become his Prey. And supposing it should lie in his Power to oppress him, it was much to be doubted whether he would not make use of it, either out of Ambition, which is in a manner natural to Emperors against Popes, or for his own Security, or to revenge himfelf, as he was reasonably supposed to be full of Indignation and Distrust on account of the Plot carried on with the A. D. the Marquis of Pescara; and the the Necessity of providing against that Danger was great, yet the Foundation and Hopes of being enabled to accomplish it did not appear to be slight, so that either the Remedy must succeed by means of so potent a League and Conjunction, or the Case must be thought desperate for ever. The Government of

Design of France promised Five Hundred Lances, the Princes formed a- and to contribute, every Month during gainst the War, Forty Thousand Ducats, with Casar.

which it was proposed to hire a Body of Ten Thousand Swiss. It was defigned that the Pope and Venetians together should bring into the Field Eighteen Hundred Men at Arms, Twenty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Light Horse: The French and Venetians were to put to Sea a large Fleet, for attacking either Genoa or the Kingdom of Naples. Madam the Regentels promised to open the Campaign, without Delay, with a numerous Army on the Frontiers of Spain, that so Cæfar might be prevented from fending Troops for maintaining the War in Italy. The Cæsarean Cæsarean Army that remained in Lom- A. D.. bardy was not great, had no Generals of Authority as formerly, the Marquis being dead, and Bourbon and the Viceroy in Spain, it had no Means of raising Money, and did not abound with Provisions, was extreamly hated by the People, from a Defire of their Duke, and the intolerable Exactions of the Soldiers, both in the City of Milan, and throughout the State; the Castles of Milan and Gremona were in the Hands of the Duke, and the Venetians gave Hopes that the Duke of Ferrara would also enter into this Confederacy, provided Clement would be content to grant him Reggio, of which City the Duke was determined at any Rate to keep Possession.

On the other Side Difficulties arose from the Cunning and Valour of the Enemies, from their being accustomed to maintain themselves for a long Time, when Necessity required, with a little Money, and to put up with many Wants and Inconveniencies; the Towns

A. D. in their Possession were fortified, and, from their Situation in a Plain, eafy to have their Fortifications repaired, and strengthened with new Works; in these they might maintain themselves till Succours arrived from Germany, of fuch a Nature as to reduce the whole War to the Fortune of one Battle. The Troops of the League could be no other than new-raifed Men, and of small Value in comparison of that veteran Army, flushed with so many Victories. It was difficult to fix on a Captain General, for the Marquis of Mantoua, at that time General of the Venetians, was not equal to fo great a Charge, nor could it with any Security be intrusted in the Hands of the Duke of Ferrara, or of the Duke of Urbino, who had received fo many Injuries that it was impossible for them to be pleased with the Pope's Greatness. The Weapons of the Church had naturally blunt Edges, and those of the Venetians were no keener, and if each were but a bad Cutter when alone and

and acting separately, what could be A. D. expected when employed in Conjunc-1525. tion! In the Armies of the League there never would be a Concurrence of all the necessary Provisions at one Time; for amidst so great a Variety of Wills, where are different Interests, and different Ends, there will be apt to arise Disorders, Indignation, Resentments and Distrust, and, at best, you will never find among them that Promptness and Alacrity for vigorously pursuing the Favour of Fortune when the thews herfelf kind, nor a firm Disposition to make a resolute and constant Resistance when she looks upon them with a frowning Aspect. But, that which above all occasioned the greatest Difficulty and Fear in this Resolution, was an Apprehension that the French, whenever Cæfar, on finding himself straitened, should offer to release their King, would not only break off from the League, but affift him against the Confederates. And tho' the King of England passed his royal Word for them that they should come to no Agreement, and it was proposed that

A. D. that they should give Security in Rome, Florence, or Venice, for three Months Payments, yet no Means were found to remove that Suspicion: For the French having no other End than the Recovery of their King, and it being well known, that they had no Inclination to a War but when they had no Hopes of an Agreement, it feemed probable that, whenever it pleased Casar to consent to their Wishes, they would prefer an Accommodation with him to all other Interests and Regards; nay further, every one was sensible that the greater the Preparations and Forces of the League should appear, the more would Cafar shew himself inclined to agree with the King of France, and therefore it seemed a very dangerous Step to engage in a War in which the Powerful Forces of the Confederates might do as much Hurt as Good. With these Reasons was the Pontiff plyed on all Sides, by the Ambassadors of the Princes, and no less by his own Ministers, for there was a Division in his Family and in his Council, where every one favoured his own Incli-

THE WARS IN ITALY.

353 A. D.

Inclination, with fo much the less Refpect, as the Authority which they had
arrogated with him was the greater;
for he had till this Time suffered
himself in a great measure to be carried by those who ought to have paid
Obedience to his Nod, and to look upon themselves as no other than Ministers
of the Will and Orders of their Master.
To understand this and many other
Occurrences, it is necessary to look back
on some Transactions of an older Date.

LEO, who brought the chief Ecclesi-Characters affical Dignity into the House of the Lee and Medici, and with the Authority of the Pope Cle-Cardinalship so well sustained himself ment. and that Family, which was fallen from the Height of Grandeur to so low a State of Decay, that it had reason to expect a Viciflitude and Return of prosperous Fortune, was a Man of confummate Liberality, if it be proper to give that Name to a Profuseness in Expences that passes all Bounds and Measures. After his Assumption to the Pontificate he displayed so much Magnificence and Z Splen-VOL. VIII.

A. D. Splendor, with a truly Royal Spirit, as would have been furprifing even in one who had descended by long Succession from Kings and Emperors. Nor was he only most profuse of Money, but of all Favours which are at the Disposal of a Pope, which he bestowed so unmeasurably that he brought the Spiritual Authority into Contempt, disordered the Oeconomy of the Court, and by his excessive Expences brought himself under a Necessity of perpetually contriving to raise Money by extraordinary Means. To this fo remarkable an Eafiness was added a most profound Dissimulation, with which he circumvented every one in the Beginning of his Pontificate, and made himself pass for a very good Prince; I dare not fay of an Apostolical Goodness, for in our corrupt Times the Goodness of a Pontiff is commended when it does not surpass the Wickedness of other Men; but he was reputed merciful, defirous of doing Good to all, and quite averse from every Thing that might give Offence to any Person. Among other good Gifts of Fortune, which

were very great, he was for happy A. D. as to have about him Giulio de' Me-1525. dici, his Cousin, whom from a Knight of Rhodes, tho' illegitimate, he raised to the Cardinalship. For Giulio being naturally grave, diligent, affiduous in Bufiness, averse from Pleasures, temperate and thrifty in every Thing, and having in his Hands, by Appointment of Leo, the Management of all the important Affairs of the Pontificate, restrained and moderated many Disorders proceeding from his Profuseness and Easiness: and, what is more, not following the Customs of other Nephews and Brothers of Popes, but preferring the Honour and Grandeur of Leo to the Consideration of making a comfortable Provision to support himself after his Death, he approved himself a most faithful and most obedient Minister to him, in fuch a manner that it feemed as if he were really his fecond Self. On these accounts he was continually more and more promoted by the Pope, and still more and more entrusted with Bufinels, which, in the Hands of two Per-

Z 2

fons

A. D. Sons of such different Natures, is a Demonstration how well the Mixture of two Contraries may fometimes agree together; as here, for Instance, Assiduity, Diligence, Conduct, and Gravity of Manners, with Indolence, Prodigality, and an inordinate Love of Pleasure and Mirth. This Management made it believed by many that Leo was governed by Giulio, and that he himself was not a Man qualified to undertake fo great a Charge, but of a harmless Disposition, unwilling to hurt any Body, and very glad to enjoy the Sweets of the Pontificate; and that, as a Contrast, Giulio . was full of Spirit, Ambition, and a Desire of Hence all the Severities, Innovations. all the Movements, and all the Enterprifes that happened during the Time of Leo were imagined to proceed from the Instigation of Giulio, who was reputed of a malignant Temper, but a Man of Parts, and of a great Spirit. This Opinion of his Merit was confirmed and increased after the Death of Leo, for, amidst all the Opposition and Difficulties with which he was furround-

ed, he supported his Affairs with such A. D. Dignity, that he appeared almost like a 1525. Pope, and preferved his Authority with many of the Cardinals to fuch a Degree, that he entered into Two Conclaves absolute Master of Sixteen Votes, and at last after the Death of Adrian, in spite of the infinite Contradictions and Oppositions of the greater Part and of the senior Members of the College, he made his way to the Pontificate, not full Two Years from the Decease of Leo, entering on his Office with such high Expectations, that it was the universal Opinion he would be the greatest Pontiff, and perform the greatest Actions that had ever been performed by any one who had hitherto fat in the Papal Chair. But it was foon known what vain Judgments they had formed of Leo and of him; for Clement had many Qualities different from what was at first imagined of him, fince he had nothing of that ambitious Defire of Novelties, nor was endowed with that Greatness of Soul, and Inclination of Mind to generous and magnanimous Z 3 Ends,

A. D. Ends, as the Public had at first believed; and it appeared that he had been with Leo rather a Minister and Executor of his Defigns, than a Director and Introducer of his Counsels and Will: And tho' he had a very capacious Understanding, and a wonderful Knowledge of all public Affairs, yet his Resolution and Execution were by no means anfwerable; for being hindered, not only by a remarkable Timorousness of Mind. and by a Defire to fave Expences, but also by a kind of Irresolution and Perplexity, which was natural to him, he stood almost continually in Suspense and Ambiguity, when he was brought to a Determination of fuch Affairs as he had oftentimes foreseen at a Distance. considered, and in a manner settled. Hence it happened, that, both in his refolving as well as executing what he had refolved, every trifling Concern that just then discovered itself to him, every flight Impediment that came athwart his Way, appeared sufficient to make him relapse into the same Confusion in which he had stood hesitating

THE WARS IN ITALY.

359

ting before he had refolved, as he al- A. D. ways fancied, after he had taken a Re-1525. folution, that the Counsel which he had rejected was the best: For, representing to himself at the present Instant only those Reasons which he had neglected, he never recalled to Examination those which had moved him to make his Choice, by the Clashing and Comparison of which the oppofite Reasons would have their Force weakened; nor could the Memory of his been often under the Power of vain Fears teach him to avoid giving way to such Weakness for the future. In this intangled Situation, and confused Manner of Proceeding, fuffering himfelf to be often biaffed by his Ministers, he feemed rather led than counfelled by

OF the Ministry those who had a Twolead-mighty Interest with him were Nicolas ing Ministers of Schomberg, a German, and Gian Matteo Pope Cle-Giberto, a Genoese; the former reverenced, ment, and in a manner seared by the Pontisf; the other very acceptable, and greatly Z 4 beloved

the Authority of Girolamo Savonarola, entered himself, while he studied the Law, in the Order of Preaching Friars; but afterwards, relinquishing his Convent, tho' retaining the Name and Habit, he applied himself to secular Business. Giberto was dedicated to a monastic Life in his Childhood, but afterwards leaving his Cloister, by his Father's Authority, tho' he was but a Bastard, quite abdicated his Profession, with the Name and Habit.

THESE two Ministers, while they agreed together when Giulio was but a Cardinal, and afterwards in the Beginning of his Pontificate, guided him at their Discretion; but fince, falling at Variance, either out of Ambition, or from a Difference of Tempers, they put all Things in Confusion, and ruined his Affairs. For Friar Nicolas, on account of a national Tye, or for some other Respect, being devoted to the Interest of Caesar, and by Nature obstinately attached to his own Opinions, which were

At vari-

were often different from those of others, so immoderately favoured the Cause of Cæsar, that he was often sufpected by the Pontiff as one who had more Concern for the Interests of others than for those of his Master. The other in truth knew no other Patron. or Object of his Affection, than the Pontiff; but, being naturally eager and vehement in the Management of his Affairs, tho', in the Time of Leo, he had been a most bitter Enemy to the French, and a Favourer of Cafar's Caufe. yet fince his Death he was become quite the contrary. Hence those two Ministers, who bore the greatest Sway with the Pontiff, being at open Variance, not proceeding with Maturity, or with any Regard to the Honour of their Master, but exposing his Coldness and Irrefolution to all the Court, rendered him contemptible and in a manner ridiculous to the Generality of Mankind. As he was then by Nature irrefolute, and those whose Duty it was to affist him in coming to a Determination on so difficult and perplexed an Affair help.362

fusion, he knew not which Way to turn himself. At last, rather from a Necessity of coming to some Determination, than out of a manly Resolution, or firm Judgment, especially as he found himself in such a Situation that to come to no Determination was a kind of Determination, he inclined to make a League and to join with the others in beginning a War with Casar.

Errera
arrives at
Rome
from
Cæjar.

THEY had agreed on Articles, which were drawn up in Writing, and only wanted to be figned, when the Pope received Advice that the Commendatory Errera was arrived at Genoa, deputed to him from Cafar, and coming with all Diligence would foon be at Rome with good and gracious Dispatches. He resolved therefore to wait his Arrival. tho' with very heavy Complaints from the Ambassadors, to whom he had given strong assurances of signing the Confederacy the same Day. Errera was fent on this Message because Casar, after he had given such a Commission to the Marquis

Marquis of Pescara as gave him full A. D. Power at least to seize on the State of 1525. Milan, doubting that fuch a Step would occasion new Movements in Italy, carried on with great Application the Negotiations for an Agreement with the Legate Salviati, so that a Capitulation was made between them, with a Referve however on Condition of its Ratification by the Pontiff. By this Agreement Provision was made for the Restitution of Reggio and Rubiera, and there was included in it the Defence and Preservation of the Duke of Milan, which were the principle Points that Clement defired, but with one express Condition that, in case of his Death, Casar should neither keep that Dutchy for himself, nor give it to his Brother the Archduke, but invest with it M. de Bourbon, whom, together with George, the natural Brother of Maximilian Cæsar, the Pontiff himself, at the persuasion of the Archbishop of Capua, had been so inconsiderate as to propose at the Time when Francesco Sforza lay so ill that every one despaired of his Life.

1525. THE Capitulation being made the Letion for his Marriage.

Cafar ob- gate, without waiting for Clement's Rati-Dispensa- fication, could not, or knew not how to deny giving Cæsar the Brief of Dispensation, that he so much defired, which having been drawn before with an Expression only of the Impediment in the fecond Degree, without nominating the Daughter of the King of Portugal, for the fake of giving the less Offence to the King of England, or because, there being a double Tye of Kindred between them, Mention had been made only of the stronger Tye, it was necessary to draw up another, which should comprehend all the Impediments, together with an express Nomination of the Persons. The Commendatory Errera fet out from Cafar's Court with the Dispatches of this Confederacy a Day or two after Gæsar had received Advice of the Imprisonment of Morone, and on the fixth of December, being conducted before the Pope, besides many Offers, and most ample Protestations of the good Dispofition

sition of Casar, presented him with the A. D. Articles of the Capitulation; and tho' those Articles that concerned the Salt, and the beneficial Matters in the Kingdom of Naples were different from those which had been concluded with the Viceroy, yet because the principal Point which he had in View was to free himself from Suspicions, he would have accepted them had he been convinced of the Sincerity of the Proceedings in relation to the Duke of Milan: But fince, in the Article that related to Francesco Pope's Ex-Sforza, there was no Mention made of ceptions what had been laid to his Charge, nor Treaty any Promile to restore the State of with which he had been deprived, nor pardoning the Errors which he had committed, but on the contrary Cafar, in the Conclusion made with the Legate, and in the Instructions given to this his Agent, had not given the least Indication that he knew any Thing of it, one might eafily comprehend the Subtleties and Artifices of his Ministers. For the Confederacy, and the Promife to defend and preserve Francesco Sforza

A. D. in the Dutchy of Milan, did not deprive Cæsar of the Power of proceeding against him as his Vassal, and of declaring the Fief devolved on account of the Charge of his having conspired against his Majesty; and Bourbon, who was substituted in case of his Death. would also succeed him on his Deprivation, because the Laws consider a civil Death as equivalent to a natural, and he, they fay, who is condemned for a Crime of that Nature, is dead in Law. The Pope therefore very gravely anfwered, that he had no private Cause of Disagreement with Casar, but, on the contrary, in all Differences and Disputes that might happen between them, he would never chuse any other judge than him; but that it was also necessary to settle the public Affairs on fuch a Foundation as might put Italy in a State of Security, which could not be effected without once more restoring the Dutchy of Milan to Francesco Sforza. He shewed him also the Reasons why this Article, fo generally worded was not satisfactory, concluding that he should be extreamly

THE WARS IN ITALY.

367 treamly mortified to find himself under A. D. a Necessity of taking new Resolutions, and to break off from Cæfar, to whom he had always been most firmly attached.

To this the Duke of Seffa replied, Duke of that Cæsar was very fincere in his In-Sessa's tentions, and was doubtless contented Reply. that, notwithstanding what had happened, the Dutchy of Milan should remain in the Possession of Francesco Sforza; but that, through Inadvertency, the Article had not been drawn up in ample Form, but the Pope might make what Corrections or Alterations in it he faw fit; that he promised him the Ratification within the Term of Two Months, provided that his Holiness would also promise that, during that Time on his Part, he would not conclude the League he was negotiating with France and the Venetians.

EVERY one eafily perceived that this Offer had no other Foundation than a Defire to gain Time by a Delay of Two

A. D. Two Months, for Cafar the better to regulate his Resolutions, and to provide himself with Remedies against so formidable an Union. The Pontiff. however, after many Disputes, to the very great Displeasure of the other Ambassadors, confented to this Demand, as well out of a Defire to defer, as long as he could, the involving himself in Expences and Troubles, as because it appeared to him a very dangerous Step to contract an Alliance with the King's Mother while he himself was a Prisoner, it lying in the Power of Cæsar to dissolve it whenever he pleased, and this Delay might possibly, tho' he saw but little Hopes, being about the Accomplishment of his defired Ends; and tho' it should occasion an Agreement between the two Kings, he profoundly confidered, tho' others were of a contrary Judgment that it was best to have it effected at a Time when Cæfar was under less Necessity, because the better should be the Situation of his Affairs, the harder would be the Conditions that he would propose to the King of France, the Rigour

Rigour of which gave Hopes that the A. D. King, after he should be released, would not think himself bound to observe them. It was also inserted in this Treaty that at the same time no new Works should be raised, or any Thing farther undertaken against the Castle of Milan, provided Francesco Sforza would oblige himself not to annoy or molest the Troops that lay before it; which Condition he would not accept.

Thus ended the Year of the Nativity 1526. of the Son of God Almighty 1525, with Dispositions rather for War than for Peace, and we are now entering on 1526, a Year full of great Events, and furprising Commotions. In the Beginning of it Errera returning to Cafar, the Pope writ a long Letter to that Prince, with his own Hand, in which Pope neither wholly denying nor confessing Cafar. the Plot formed against him, but laying the Fault on the Marquis of Pefcara, he endeavoured to excuse Francesco Sforza, who, if he had committed any Error, was seduced by the Counsels of Girolamo Aa Vol. VIII.

A. D. Girolamo Morone; intreating him also in the most pathetic Manner, that, for the Quiet and Benefit of all Christendom, he would prevail with himself to pardon him.

CÆSAR, at that Time, in Expectation of the Pontiff's Answer, put a Stop to all Negotiations with others; and tho' Bourbon, who was pretty much careffed and confirmed in his Hopes of the Affinity, infifted on the Celebration of the Nuptials, he was put off with an Excuse that Casar was willing first to folemnise his Marriage with his Portuguese Spouse, who was every Day expected: But this Delay was designed to leave Room for making an Accommodation with the King of France, in which it was proposed to give him the same Lady in Matrimony as had been promised to Bourbon, Interest, as it is customary with all Princes, being preferred before Honour and Honesty. Casar had solemnised his Nuptials at Seville, when Errera arrived from Rome, with the Minutes of a very long Article drawn

THE WARS IN ITALY. 371

up by the Pope in favour of Francesco A. D. Sforza. Wherefore Cæsar, being certified also that the Legate had no Commission but what concerned the Contents of that Article, and his whole Council concurring in the Opinion that it was necessary to break the League that was in Agitation, and dangerous to have so many Enemies to deal with at once, found himself reduced to a Neceffity, either of fatisfying the Pope and the Venetians by restoring Francesco Sforza, or to agree with the King of France. That King at last, after many Disputes Offers of about Burgundy, finding no hopes of the King obtaining from Cæfar his Liberty on any other Conditions, offered to restore that Province, together with its Appurtenances and Dependencies, and to yield up his Rights and Pretentions to the Kingdom of Naples and Dutchy of Milan, and to give his Two Sons as Hostages for the Performance of his Engagements.

A. D. 1526.

VERY warm were the Debates on the Choice of either of the Expedients: The Viceroy, who had conducted the most Christian King into Spain, and had given him fuch great Hopes, and fo ardently follicited his Deliverance, more earnestly insisted on it than ever; and his Authority, with regard only to his Fidelity and Good Will, had great Weight with Cafar. But his Counsel was opposed, rather with exclaiming than disputing against it, by Mercurio di Gattinara, the Great Chancellor, a Man who, tho' born of low Parentage in Piedmont, was yet of great Credit and Experience, and had for several Years the Management of the important Business of that Court. These two great Men one Day affifting in Council, and Cafar being present, in order to put a final Determination to an Affair that had been under Debate so many Months, the Great Chancellor spoke thus:

A. D. 1526. "I HAVE been always under Apprehensions, most invincible Cæsar, that speech of our excessive Desires, and immoderate the Great Views would be the Cause that in the lor against End we should reap neither Honour releasing the King nor Profit from fo great and famous aof France. Victory; but I did not however imagine that the coming off Conquerors would endanger your Reputation and vour State, which I now plainly fee is like to be the Refult. For we have now under Debate the making an Agreement, by which all Italy may be thrown into Despair, and the King of France fet at Liberty, but on such burdensome Conditions, that, if not by Inclination, yet at least out of Necessity, he may become a greater Enemy to us than he was before. I could wish, as heartily as others, that at the same time Burgundy might be recovered, and the Foundations laid for the subjecting Italy; but I know that he who is thus hasty in grasping so much is in Danger of holding fast nothing, and that no Reafon A a 3

THE HISTORY OF

374

A. D. son requires that the King of France, 1526. after he is set at Liberty, should fulfil his Engagements to you, in such important Articles. Does he not know that if he restores to you Burgundy he opens you a Gate of France? and that it will be in your power to make Incurfions as far as Paris? and that, when you have the Means of annoying France on so many Quarters, it will be imposfible for him to refift you? Does he not know, and every one else, that his consenting that you should go to Rome armed, that you should put a Bridle on Italy, and that you should reduce the spiritual and temporal State of the Church to your Devotion, would be the Cause of doubling your Power? and that you never can want for Money nor Arms to molest him, and that he must be necessitated to accept all the Laws you shall please to impose on him? Who then can believe that he will think himself bound to an Agreement, by which he may become your Slave, and you his Lord? Can he want for the Complaints and

and Exclamations of the whole King- A. D. dom of France, the Persuasions of the 1526. King of England, and the Stimulations of all Italy? The Love perhaps that fublists between you two will be the Cause that he will repose Confidence in you, and willingly fee the Increase of your Power; or were there ever two Princes between whom there were more Grounds for Hatred and Contention? Here is not only an Emulation of Greatness, which uses to put Weapons in the Hands of Brothers against one another, but antient and very bitter Enmities, commenced from the Times of the Fathers and Grandfathers of your Grandfathers, fo many Wars long carried on between these two Houses. fo many Treaties of Peace and Agreement not observed, so many Injuries and Affronts given and received. Can we chuse but believe that he burns with Indignation to reflect that he has been for fo many Months your Prisoner, kept under so strict a Guard, without ever having had the Favour of being conducted into your Presence? That Aa4

A

A. D. in this Prison, thro' Vexation and Inconvenience, he had been at Death's Door; and that he was not now fet at Liberty out of Magnanimity or Love, but from the Apprehensions of so formidable an Union against you? Can we believe that an Affinity contracted by Necessity is of more Force than fo many Incentives? And who knows not what Value Princes set upon these Ties? And where is there better Evidence of the Regard they pay to Affinities than among ourselves? Some perhaps may fancy that paffing his Word, which he will give us for his returning to Prison, may be sufficient for our Security; but, alas! what inconfiderate Grounds, what imprudent Hopes would this Confideration fuggest for our Reliance! The extream Grief that affects me, when I find some are for taking so pernicious and dangerous a Resolution, constrains me, Cæsar, to speak my Mind freely. We all know but too well what Value is to be fet on the Word of Honour, when the Interest of the State is concerned, and what Stress is to be laid on the Promifes

1

Promises of the French, who tho' frank A. D. and open in all other Matters, are in, 1526. this Regard perfect Masters in the Arts of Diffimulation and Deceit, and that their King is by Nature as much deficient in Deeds as he is redundant in Words. We may therefore well conclude that no Benevolence between two Princes, whose Injuries and Hatred defcend with their Blood by antient Inheritance; no Faith nor Promises, which in the important Concerns of State have but little Weight with many, and with the French none at all, will induce that King to make good an Agreement, that will exalt his Enemy to Heaven, and bring himself and his Kingdom under manifest Subjection. You would answer I am sensible, that, for Fear of what is here fuggested, there is demanded of him Security, in the Persons of two of his Sons, one of them his Eldest, the Love of whom must needs occasion him to fet a higher Value on them than on But I am afraid that this Burgundy. Love of his Children will rather have a contrary Effect, when their Memory shall

A. D. shall present itself to his Mind, and he fhall consider that by observing the Agreement he lays a Foundation for making them your Slaves. I know not whether this Pledge would be sufficient, when he should be quite deprived of all Hopes of recovering them any other Way *. For it is a Matter of too ferious Concern to endanger his Kingdom, which once lost is very difficult to be recovered; but he might well hope to recover his Sons with Time, or by Agreement, or on some other Occasion, and the Delay will be less troublesome on account of their tender Age. But having found Means to bring almost all the Christian Princes to unite with him against you, who doubts but he will enter into close Confederacy with them, and feek to moderate the Agreement by Force of Arms, and that the Fruits we shall reap from the Victory will be a very

^{*} He doubts whether the King's Children be a fufficient Pledge for restoring Burgundy, supposing that the King had no other way to recover them, because such a Restitution would open a Door of France, as before observed.

very vigorous and dangerous War, ex- A. D. cited by Hatred, Necessity and Desperation, from the King of England, King of France, and all Italy? from all which we should be able to defend ourselves, would it please God not to slacken his Hand in working for us every Day those Miracles which he has so often wrought for us till this present Time; and if Fortune should change her Nature in our Behalf, and her Inconstancy and Mutability should become towards us an Example of Stability and Constancy, contrary to all the Examples of past Events. We have in all our Counfels, for so many Months together, concluded that we are to use our utmost Endeavours that the Italians might not join with the Government of France; and now we precipitate ourselves into a Resolution which removes all the Difficulties that have hitherto kept them in Suspence, that multiplies our Dangers, that multiplies the Forces of the Enemy: For who knows not how much more potent a League will be which shall have for its Head the King of France, than

A. D. 1526.

than one made with the Government of France while the King remains your Prisoner? Who knows not that no Cause has hitherto held the Pope in Ambiguity and Hesitation from confederating against you, but the Fears that you may separate the French from them by offering them their King? That they will fear less, when we shall have his Children and not him? Thus the Remedy which we provide for avoiding the Danger will, without Comparison, do more Hurt than Good, and increase the Evil, and, instead of breaking that Union, we shall ourselves be the Instruments of rendering it more firm and powerful. It will be faid to me, What is then your Opinion? Is it your Advice that we reap no Profit from fo great a Victory? Are we to remain continually in this State of Perplexity? I confirm what I have often faid, that it is very pernicious to take in more Food at one Time than the Stomach is able to digeft, and that it is necessary for us to regain the Friendship of Italy, which demands nothing of us but its Security,

rity, and to endeavour to obtain of the A.D. French King Burgundy, with whatever else should be possible for us; or otherwife to make an Agreement with him, by which Italy may be left to our Difcretion, but so mild and moderate with regard to his Interests that he may have Reason to observe it. And in making a Choice between these two Ways it is requisite, Casar, that your Prudence and Goodness should prefer what is stable and juster to that which at first Sight may perhaps appear more profitable and grand. The State of Milan I confess, is richer, and more convenient on many accounts than that of Burgundy, and there is no Friendship to be contracted with the Italians but by leaving Milan in the Hands of Francesco Sforza, or of some other who shall content the Pope. And yet I much prefer taking this Course to an agreement with the French, because Burgundy is more yours in Justice than Milan, and easier to keep than the other, where you have not a fingle Person that is well affected to you. To attempt the Resto-

A. D. Restoration of Burgundy, your antient Inheritance, is highly commendable: To aspire after Milan, either for yourfelf or one who shall wholly depend on you, discovers some Marks of Ambition. The first is requir'd of you by the Memory of so many of your glorious Progenitors, whose Bones interred in Captivity cry for nothing but to be delivered and removed by you, and their so just, compassionate, and holy Prayers are perhaps the Cause of rendering God the more propitious to you. It is a more prudent as well as more feafible Refolution to feek to establish a Friendship with one who unwillingly becomes an Enemy, than with him who cannot possibly at any time be your Friend. For in the King of France will never harbour any other than Hatred, and a malicious Defire to oppose your Defigns: But the Pope and the other Powers of Italy, as foon as the Army is removed from Lombardy, being freed from Jealousies, will have no Occasion to contend with you either from Fear or Emulation, but remaining your steady Friends you will now

now and always enjoy the Convenience A. D. and Profit of their good Correspondence. 1526. You are invited therefore to chuse that Friendship by Honour, Utility, and Security, and, if I deceive not myself, no less by Necessity. For, even supposing that you should make an Agreement with the King on no other Obligation than of affisting you in your Enterprise on Italy, it does not appear to me probable that he will fulfil it, because he will imagine that his leaving Italy to be your Prey will too much endanger his own Kingdom. And, on the other hand, he will appear to himself to have vast Opportunities and Hopes, by means of so potent an Union, to create you much Trouble and Uneafiness, and to reduce you to an Agreement on less burdensome Conditions. Thus of a King Prisoner we shall make him free, and our Enemy, and shall give a Head to the Kingdom of France, that, in Conjunction with fo many others, he may make War upon us with more Forces, and with greater Advantage. How much better is it to agree with the Italians!

1526.

A. D. to enter into a firm and fincere Alliance with the Pontiff, who has continually defired it, and to deprive the French of all Hopes of a Conjunction with the Italians; for in such a Case not Necessity, nor the Fears of new Leagues, but your own Will, and the Quality of the Conditions will be fufficient to draw you to an Agreement with the French; then you will fee that Want and Despair will force them not only to restore Burgundy, and to make you greater Offers, but also to put into your Hands fuch Security as shall leave no Room to doubt of the Performance of their Engagements; since the Children are not sufficient to secure you while they can feed themselves with Hopes of so considerable a Conjunction, and if they were to make an Addition of Bayonne, Narbonne, and the Fleet, it would hardly be enough to warrant their Observance. In this Manner you will be fure to reap great, honourable, just, and secure Fruits from your Victory; otherwise, either I have no Understanding at all in any Affair, or this Agreement

THE WARS IN ITALY.

1526.

ment will so endanger your State, that A. D. I know not what will fecure it if the Imprudence of the King of France proves no greater than ours."

THE Great Chancellor by this accurate and vehement Speech, and by the Reputation of his Wisdom, had affected the Minds of a great Part of the Council, when the Viceroy, who was the Author of the contrary Opinion, spoke, as it is said, in the following Manner.

" IT is undoubtedly true, most glo-speech of rious Cæsar, that the Man who, out of the Vicea greedy Defire of having too much, ples in Anaims at grasping more than he can hold foregoing. fast, is by no means to be commended; but then he is no less to be blamed who, from a needless Suspicion and Distrust, voluntarily deprives himself of vast Opportunities, acquired with a Multitude of Difficulties and Dangers. The Errors are indeed very confiderable on both Sides; but a Fault that proceeds from a Timidity and Meanness of Spi-VOL. VIII. ВЬ Tit

rit is more inexcusable in so great a Prince, than that which arises from a certain Generosity and Greatness of. Mind; and it is more laudable to feek with Danger the Acquisition of too much, than, for the fake of avoiding Danger, to let slip and vanish the rarest Opportunities that a Man is blest with. Now this however is in effect the Counsel of the Chancellor, who doubting that this Agreement will not procure both Burgundy and Milan (for we are by no means to suspect that he is under the Influence of a Love to Italy, his Country, or of the Good Will that he bears to the Duke of Milan) proposes a Way by which, according to him, you gain Burgundy and lose Milan, a State without Comparison of the greater Importance, but, according to me, by which you lose Milan without gaining Burgundy! And thus, where this Victory has most gloriously opened you a Way to the Lordship of all Christendom, there will remain nothing for us, if we follow his Advice, but Loss and Disgrace. And indeed I fee no Safety in his Counsel. but

but rather very great Danger attended A. D. with very small Advantage, which be fides may eafily slip out of our Hands. But, on the contrary, an Agreement with the King of France appears to me attended with very great Glory, very great Profit, and sufficient Security. For I would ask yon, Chancellor, what Reafon have you, what Security, what Promife, that the Italians, after we shall have evacuated the Dutchy of Milan, will take care not to violate the Agreement, nor intermeddle between the King of France and us? And not rather that, after we shall have debased our Reputation, after we shall have disbanded that Army, which is a Bridle on their Malice, after they shall be secured from the Coming of new Bodies of Germans into Italy, because there will be no Place in Lombardy to receive them, nor where they can shelter themselves; what Security, I fay, have you that the Italians, at fuch a Time, continuing their Plots, befides threatning the Kingdom of Naples, which will remain in a manner at their Discretion, will not make B b 2

an

A. D. an Effort to deliver the King of France? Have you any Trust, Chancellor, in the Gratitude of Francesco Sforza, who, after so many Benefits, has requited you, O Cafar, with fuch base Treachery? What will he not do now, when he has been made fensible that you are defirous to punish so heinous a Piece of Iniquity with Justice? now, that he fears Punishment from you, and expects Safety from our Enemies? Have you any Confidence, Chancellor, in the Friendship of the Venetians, who are both Enemies to the Empire and to the House of Austria, and trembling at remembering that as it were but yesterday your Grandfather Maximilian bereaved them of fo many of those Town which they now posses? Have you any Faith in the Goodness of Clement, or in his Inclination to the Emperor? the Motive of Leo's Alliance with Casar, after he had attempted many Things against us, was a Desire of Revenge, or of Security from the French, or an ambitious Design of seizing on Ferrara. After the Death of Leo, this Man, hated

by Half the World, continued our A. D. Friend out of Necessity; but after he was made Pope, immediately returning to the Nature of the Pontiffs, which is to fear and hate the Emperors, he has nothing in more Detestation than the Name of Cæfar. All these Parties excuse themselves by pretending that their Plots and Devices proceeded not from Hatred, or from any other Passion, but only from a Jealousy of your Greatness, which ceafing all their Machinations have ceased with it. This is either not true, or, tho' it might perhaps have been true in the Beginning, it is necessary that it must have fince taken other Roots, and become another Passion; for it is natural for Jealoufy to be followed by Hatred, and by Injuries, attended by a Conjunction and Intimacy with the Enemies of the injured Person, together with Defigns not only of being fecured from his Resentment, but also of profiting by his Ruin, the Memory of Injuries being greater without doubt, and more implacable in him who does, than in him who receives them. Wherefore Bb3 granting.

A. D. 1526.

granting that in the Beginning they might be incited only by Jealoufy, the same would have been the Cause of making them become your Enemies, of diverting their Inclinations, and placing their Hopes on the French Side, and afterwards of beginning, as they have done in all the Conventions which they have negotiated, to divide the Kingdom of Naples among themselves. And now whatever Security we give them, or whatever Agreement we make with them, the same Passions of Hatred and Fear will always remain kindled in their Breafts; and putting no Faith in what they imagine extorted from you by Necessity, but thinking they may with the greater Facility bend us to a Compliance with their Will, apprehensive also that at last there will be an Appointment between us and the King of France, like to that made at Cambray, and desirous, to use their own Words, of freeing Italy from the Barbarians, they will have the Boldness to think of prescribing Laws to you, and to demand the Deliverance of the King of France. If you

you should deny their Demands, Cafar, A. D. how will you defend the Kingdom of 1526. Naples against them? If you should grant it, you lose all the Fruits of the Victory, and remain the most dishonoured. the most debased of all Princes. But let us grant that Italy would be difposed to observe the Agreement, and that you would be under a Necessity either of relinquishing Milan, or of not recovering Burgundy, what Comparison is there between one Side and the other? Burgundy is a little Province, of small Revenues, and besides not of fuch mighty Conveniency as many perfuade themselves. The Dutchy of Milan, for the Riches and Beauty of fo many noble Cities, for the Number and Quality of its Subjects, for the Greatness of its Revenues, and for its Capacity of subsisting all the Armies in the World, is superior to many Kingdoms. But tho' it be so large and so powerful, yet the Conveniencies that arise from its Acquisition are more to be valued than the Country in itself considered: For while Milan and Naples are at your Devoti-B b 4

A. D. on, the Pontiffs must of necessity, as they used formerly, depend on the Emperors: All Tuscany, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantoua may be subjected to you: The Venetians, furrounded by Lombardy and Germany, will be obliged to accept your Laws. Thus, I do not fay with Arms or with Armies, but with the Reputation of your Name, with a Herald alone, with the Imperial Enfigns you will command all Italy. And who knows not what is Italy? A Country, for the Commodiousness of its Situation, for the Temperateness of the Air, for the Multitude and Ingenuity of its Inhabitants, who are extremely well disposed for all honourable Undertakings, for the Abundance of all Things convenient for human Life, for the Largeness and Beauty of so many most noble Cities, for Riches, for the Seat of Religion, for the antient Glory of the Empire, and for infinite other Respects, the Queen of all Countries, which if you command, all other Princes will tremble before you. To compass this Design is more conducive

1526.

ducive to your Greatness, and to the Augmentation of your Glory, and more grateful to the Bones of your Grandfathers (fince they too must be called into Council) who, on account of their Goodness and Compassion, must be supposed to defire nothing but what is most convenient for you, and most glorious to your Name. If we follow then the Counsel of the Chancellor we shall lose a very large Acquisition for a small one, and that too very inconfiderable. and besides very uncertain, of which we ought to have taken Warning by what was like to have happened fome Months past. Does he not remember, when the King of France, was in such great Danger of Death, in what an uneafy Situation we were, as knowing that by his Death we should lose all the Fruits expected from the Victory? Who can fecure us that the same Accident may not possibly intervene at present, and more eafily, because the Reliques of the Disorder remain upon him since Time, and because the Hopes, that have hitherto supported him, being cut off,

A. D. his Anxiety, which was the Cause of 1526. his Disorder, will return upon him with greater Violence; and especially when, in debating on inextricable Conditions and Security, the new Negotiations must of necessity be spun out to a tedious Length, which will be subject to the fame Accident, and perhaps to others as great, and no less dangerous. Don't we know that nothing has fo much conduced to keep the Government of France in due Order and Steadiness, as an Expectation of a speedy Releasement of the King, by which the great Men of that Kingdom have been kept in Quietness and Obedience to the Mother; and that as foon as this Hope should fail, the Kingdom would easily be fenfible of it, and the Government would be altered? And when once the Nobles have got the Bridle in Hand, they will take no Care of the King's Liberty, but will rather be pleased with his Captivity, for the Sake of maintaining themselves independant and absolute Lords. Thus instead of Burgundy and of such a Multitude of Acquisitions,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

we shall no longer have any Thing to A. D. expect either from his Imprisonment or Releasment. But I would ask you farther, Chancellor, is Cæsar in this Refolution to have any Regard to his Dignity and Majesty? Now what greater Difgrace can he incur, what more remarkable Diminution of his Honour, than to be constrained to pardon Francesco Sforza? than that a Man who has one Foot in the Grave, your Rebel, a fingular Example of Ingratitude, not by humbling himself and flying to your Mercy, but by throwing himself into the Arms of your Enemies, should force you to yield to him, to restore the State fo justly taken from him, and to receive Laws from him? It is better, Cæsar, and more suitable to the Dignity of the Empire, and to your own Greatness, to trust once more to Fortune, and again to hazard every Thing. than, forgetting your Rank, the Authority of a Prince supreme above all other Princes, and the Cafarean Name, and the Glory of fo many Victories over a most potent King, to accept, from Priests and

A. D. and Merchants, Conditions of such a Nature, that more grievous and more unworthy could not have been imposed, had you been overthrown and conquered. Wherefore, on confidering all these Reasons, and how small the Advantage is that can possibly result from an Agreement with the Italians, and by how many Accidents it may eafily flip out of our Hands, how unfafe it is to repose Confidence in them, how full of Indignity to abandon the State of Milan, that it is necessary for us to come to a Refolution, and to have for once some Consideration of the End, and that the Imprisonment of the King is of no Service to us, but only on account of the Profits which may be drawn from his Freedom, I have advised, and do advise, that an Agreement be first made with him before you agree with the Italians; which none can deny to be more glorious, more reasonable, and more useful, provided we can secure ourselves of the Observance: And of this I have some Grounds for Hope, both from the Gratitude of the King for

for the Benefit that he will receive A. D. from us, and from the Tie of Affinity, 1526. and also from the Virtues of your Sister, a fit Instrument for maintaining this Friendship, but much more from the Pledge of the two Sons, one of them the First-Born, and the greatest and most important Pledge, I think, that we can possibly receive of him. And, since Necessity constrains us to come to some. Refolution, we ought furely to put more Confidence in a King of France with fo great a Pledge, than in the Italians with no Pledge at all; to have more Faith in the Word of so great a King, than in the immoderate Covetousness of Priests, or in the suspicious Baseness of Merchants; and we may with more Ease contract, as our Ancestors have often done, an Alliance for some time with the French, than with the Italians, our natural and eternal Enemies. Nor do I only see in this Way of proceeding greater Hopes that Faith will be kept with us, but less Danger in case of any Infringement: For tho' the King should not yield you up Burgundy,

A. D. gundy, he will not dare, while his Children 1526. remain as Hostages, to give you any further Provocations, but will seek to moderate the Agreement by Negotiations and Intreaties; besides, as he was in a manner but yesterday overcome, and to-day let out of Prison, he will still stand in Awe of your Arms, and never have the Boldness to make another Tryal of your Fortune: And if he does not take up Arms against you, Cæsar, it is certain that all the rest will stand still, till you shall have acquired the Castle of Milan, and confirmed yourself in that State in such a Manner, that you shall no longer have any Thing to fear from the Malice of any Person whatsoever. But as for the Italians, if you should now make an Agreement with them, and they should have a Mind to break it, there will be no Bridle capable of curbing or restraining them; and as their Power of doing you Injuries increases, their Inclination to do them will be more free, and increase in proportion. Wherefore, in my Opinion, it would be the highest Timidity

THE WARS IN ITALY.

399

midity and Imprudence to lose, out of A. D.

Jealousy, an Opportunity of making an

Agreement attended with so much Glory, with so much Greatness, and with
sufficient Security, and in its Stead to
take a Resolution very dangerous, if
I mistake not, and very pernicious."

WHEN the Viceroy had done speaking, various were the Opinions of the other Members of the Council, it appearing to all who were of found Judgment, that to make an Accommodation with the King of France, in the Manner proposed, would be a very dangerous Step. The Flemings, however, were possessed with such a longing Desire of recovering Burgundy, as it was the antient Patrimony and Title of their Princes, that it would not fuffer them to discern the Truth. It was reported also that the large Gifts and Promises of the French had a confiderable Influence on many: And above all Cafar, either because such was his first Inclination, or because the Authority of the Viceroy, especially in conjunction with

Cæfar

A. D. that of Nansau, who was of the same 1526. Opinion, was of very great Moment, or else because he thought it too much beneath his Dignity to be constrained to pardon Francesco Sforza, willingly hearkened to those who advised an Agreement with the King of France. Hence, after he had ordered the Legate Salviati to be once more founded whether he would confent that the Dutchy of Milan should be bestowed on the Duke of Bourbon, and was certified that he had no Commission to accept that Expedient, in which Case he would have preferred the Friendship of the Pontiff. he took a Resolution to agree with the chuses to King of France, with whom, the chief agree with Points having been already discussed the King

of France, beforehand, and in a manner fettled, he came in two or three Days to a Conclusion, without the Intervention of the Pope's Legate in any Matter, Cæfar having before obtained the Confent of the Duke of Bourbon that his Sifter promifed to him should be married to the King of France. The Duke, it feems, after much Intreaty, had given

his

his Consent, not so much out of a A. D. Defire of possessing the Dutchy of Milan, which was promifed him contrary to the Sentiments of the Great Chancellor and of the Viceroy, tho' with the Obligation of heavy Payments, as because his Affairs were reduced to such a Situation, that, neither having nor capable of having, Dependance on any but Cæsar, he was forced to accommodate himself to his Will. As soon as he had given his Consent, that he might avoid appearing at Court at so unseasonable a Time, he fet out with all Expedition, by Orders from Cæsar, towards Barcelona, to wait there for the Provisions necessary for his Passage into Italy, which, for want of Ships, there being at that Time no more than three Light Gallies in Spain, and of Money, proceeded but flowly.

The Contents of the Capitulation, Articles of flipulated on the Fourteenth of Febru-vention on ary, in the Year 1526, were in Sub-which the france, That between Cæfar and the King King of France should be a perpetual obtained his Liber-Vol. VIII. Cc Peace, ty.

A. D. Peace, in which should be comprehended all those who should be nominated by common Confent: That the King of France, on the Tenth Day of March next, should be set at Liberty on his own Borders on the Coast of Fonterabia; and within the Term of Six Weeks following should refign unto Cæfar the Dutchy of Burgundy, the County of Charolois, the Lordship of Novers, and Chateau Chinon, Dependencies on the faid Dutchy, the Viscounty of Auffone, and Le Resort de St. Laurent de la Roche, Dependencies of the Franche Comte, with all the usual Appurtenances of the said Dutchy and Viscounty, all which should for the future be separated and exempt from the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of France: That, at the Time, and at the same Instant the King should be fet free, should be delivered into the Hands of Cafar the Dauphin, and besides him either the Duke of Orleans. the King's Second Son, or twelve of the principal Lords of France, who should be nominated by Cæfar, referring it to the Regentess, either to give the Second Son

Son or the Twelve Barons, and remain A. D. as Hostages till Restitution should be made of the faid Territories, and the Peace ratified and fworn with all its Articles by the States General of France, and registered (which they call enterined) in all the Parliaments of that Kingdom, with the necessary Formalities, for which was perfixed the Term of Four Months, at which Time the Hostages being restored, Angoulesme, the King's Third Son, should be put into the Hands of Cæsar, to be educated near his Person, for the better cultivating and maintaining the Peace: That the most Christian King should renounce and yield up to Cæsar all his Rights to the Kingdom of Naples, and even those which would have come to him by the Investiture of the Church: That he should make the fame Renunciation and Cession of his Rights to the State of Milan, Genoa, Afti, Artois, Arras, Tournay, Life, and Doway; that he should restore also the Town and Castle of Hedin, as a Member of the County of Artois, with all the military Stores, Artillery and Mov-Cc2 ables

1526.

A. D. ables which were in it when taken , last: That he should renounce the Sovereignty of Flanders and of Artois, and of every other Place in the Poffeffion of Cæsar. On the other Side that Cafar should renounce all Rights to any Place whatsoever in the Possession of the French, and particularly to Peronne, Mondidier, the Counties of Bologne, Guines, and Ponthieu, and to the Towns fituated on both Sides of the River Somme: That there should be a League between them, and a perpetual Confederacy for the Defence of their States, with an Obligation of affifting each other, when it should be needful, with Fifteen Hundred Men at Arms, and Ten Thousand Foot: That Cafar should promise to give Lady Eleonora, his Sifter, in Marriage to the most Christian King, to whom, as soon as a Dispensation should be procured from the Pope, she should be betrothed with obligatory Words for the present, and be conducted into France, for solemnising the Matrimony, at the same time that the Hostages, according to the Articles.

ticles, were to be restored; and that her A. D. Dowry should be Two Hundred Thoufand Crowns, with fuitable Gifts, one Half to be paid within Sixteen Months, and the other Half afterwards within the Year next ensuing: That between the Dauphin and the Daughter of the King of Portugal by Eleonora, a Marriage should be contracted, as soon as the Parties came of Age: That the King of France should use his utmost-Endeavours for inducing the old King of Navarra to yield to Cæsar the Rights of that Kingdom; and, in case of Refusal, the King should give him no Affistance: That the Duke of Guelderland, Count of Zutphen, and the principal Towns of those States should promise, under sufficient Security, to surrender themselves, after his Death, to Casar, and that the King should give no Affistance to the Duke of Wirtemberg, nor to Robert de la Marche: That the King should furnish Cæsar, when he had a Mind to pass into Italy, and within two Months after it should be required, with twelve Gallies, four Ships, and Four Galleons, Cc3 fitted

A. D. fitted out wholly at his own Expence, except the Payment of the Soldiers on board; and that these Vessels should be restored within Three Months from the Day of Embarkation: That, instead of the Land Forces which the King offered for Italy, he should pay unto Cæsar Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, one Half within Six Months, and the other Half within the next Year afterwards: That at the Time when the Hostages were to be set at Liberty he should give Bank Bills to Cæsar for the Payment of Six Thousand Foot for Six Months, as soon as he should arrive in Italy, supplying him also, at his own Cost, with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and a Train of Artillery: That he should indemnify Cæsar for his Promise made to the King of England to pay him the Penfions due from the King of France, the Arrears of which amounted to Five Hundred Thousand Crowns, or else pay Cæsar in ready Money: That both should supplicate the Pontiff to give publick Notice, as foon as possible, of a general Council for treating of Peace among

among Christians, and forming Enter- A. D. prises against the Infidels and Heretics, 1526. and to grant a general Croisade Three Years: That the King should within Six Months restore the Duke of Bourbon in ample Form to the Possession of all his States, and of his Goods movable and immovable, with all the Profits received, and should not be at Liberty to molest him for what was past, nor constrain him to inhabit or come into the Kingdom of France, but should leave him at full Liberty to proceed in a Course of Law concerning the County of Provence; and should also restore all those who had followed the Duke, and namely the Bishop of Autun. and M. de St. Valier: That the Prisoners on both Sides taken in War should be set at Liberty: That the Princess Margaret of Austria should be restored to the Possession of all that she enjoyed before the War: That the Prince of Orange should be set at Liberty, and be restored to the Principality of Orange, and to whatever he possessed at his Father's Death, which Cc4 had

1. D. had been taken from him on account of his following the Party of Cafar; and the same Benefit was allowed to fome other Noblemen: That the Marquis of Saluzzo should be restored to his State: That the King, as foon as he arrived in the first Town of his Kingdom, should ratify this Capitulation, and cause it to be ratified by the Dauphin as foon as he came to the Age of Fourteen Years. They nominated many by common Confent, among others the Swiss, but not one of the Italian Potentates except the Pontiff, who was named to be a Conservator of this Agreement, more out of Form and Ceremony than for any substantial Reason. To all this they added, that the King gave his Word of Honour, that if at any Time he should, for any Cause whatever, refuse to fulfil his Engagements, he would, of his own Accord, voluntarily return to Prison.

> This Agreement was Matter of vast Surprise to all Christendom; for, as soon as it was understood that the first Thing

to be put into Execution was the De- A. D. liverance of the Most Christian King, it was the universal Opinion that, after he was fet at Liberty, he would on no account give up Burgundy, because it was a Member of too great Importance to the Kingdom of France: And, except those few who had advised Cafar to this Step, his whole Court had the same Sentiments; and, above all the rest, the Great Chancellor blamed and detested the Convention, and with fuch Vehemence that, tho' he had been commanded to subscribe the Capitulation, yet he refused to do it, alledging that the Authority with which he was invested ought not to be employed by him in dangerous and pernicious Affairs, as this before him certainly was. Nor could he be removed from his Refolution by all the Indignation of Cæsar, who at length, finding him to perfift in his Obstinacy, subscribed the Instrument with his own Hand, and a few Days after went to Madrid, to settle the Affinity, and by familiar and friendly Conversation to lay a Foundation for a lasting Friendship

A. D. Friendship and Benevolence between himfelf and the King. Wonderful were the Ceremonies and outward Professions that passed between them, they were often feen together in Public, had feveral long Conferences in private, went in one Coach in the Middle of the Day to a neighbouring Castle where resided Queen Eleonora, with whom the King made a Contract of Matrimony. But among King of France fo many Tokens of Peace and Friendespouses ship the Guards were not slackened, Eleonora. the Liberty not enlarged, but at the fame time that he was careffed like a Brother he was guarded like a Prisoner: Whence it might eafily be judged that this was a Concord full of Discord*, an Affinity without Affection, and that the old Emulations and Jealousies between them would, on every Occasion, prevail over all Regard to Tyes and Alliances contracted by Force more than from any other Cause.

AFTER

^{*} He seems here to allude to a Verse of Lucan, speaking of an Agreement between the Triumvirate,

Temporis angusti mansit Concardia discors:

A. D.

AFTER several Days spent in this Manner arrived the Ratissication of the Regentess, with a Declaration that she chose to have the Dauphin of France accompanied by the Second Son rather than by the Twelve Lords. The King then set out from Madrid for the Frontiers, where he was to make an Exchange of his Person for his Two little Sons. He was accompanied by the Viceroy, the Author of his Liberty, on whom Casar had bestowed the City of Asti, and other States in Flanders, and in the Kingdom of Naples.

At this Juncture Cæsar wrote a cere-Cæsar monial Letter to the Pontiff, signify-notifies the Agreeing that, out of a Desire of Peace, and ment to of the common Good of Christendom, the Pope: burying in Oblivion a Multitude of Offences and Enmities, he had restored Liberty to the King of France, and given him his own Sister in Marriage, and that he had chosen for Conservator of the Peace his Holiness, of whom he always desired to be a most obedient Son.

A. D. Son. And a few Days after he writ him another Letter with his own Hand and fent it by Errera, the same who had brought him a Letter from the Pontiff written with his own Hand, in which he answers his, partly in a mild Strain, partly intermixed with somewhat harsh Expressions; concluding that he would restore the Dutchy of Milan to Francesco Sforza, if he should not be found guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, and that he intended to have the Caufe tried in a Court of Justice by Judges appointed by himself as his Superior: But if it should appear that he had transgressed, he could not dispence with himself from giving the Investiture of that State to the Duke of Bourbon, to whom his Holiness himself had been the Canfe that he had promifed it, having proposed it to him when Francesco Sforza lay fick: That to fatisfy him, and to make the Italians easy, he had resolved not to keep it for himself, nor to give it to his own Brother; protesting, upon his Honour, that this was really his Intention, which he earnestly befeeched

THE WARS IN IT ALY.

413 m A. D. 1526.

feeched him to approve, offering him at all times his Authority and Forces, as an obedient Son of the Apostolic See. Errera carried also an Answer to the Minutes of the Articles that had been drawn up by the Pope in Favour of Francesco Sforza, which Casar, perfishing in his first Resolution had not been willing to approve.

HE fent also by him to the Duke of Sessa the Form of an Agreement, which was his ultimate Resolution, with Authority to conclude it, in case the Pope would accept it. The Contents Articles of it were in Substance, That Francesco by Casar Sforza should be comprehended in their to the Confederacy, if he should be found not Pope. guilty of Treason against Casar; but, in case of his Death or Deprivation, the Duke of Bourbon should succeed in the Confederacy, and be invested by the Emperor with the Dutchy of Milan. The Obligation contracted by the Viceroy, for the Restitution of the Towns possessed by the Duke of Ferrara, was confirmed, but on Condition that the Pope should

A. D. should be bound to grant him the Investiture of Ferrara, and release him from the Penalty of the Contravention; a Thing contrary to the Pope's Intention, for he defigned to exact of him the Penalty of one Hundred Thousand Ducats, to pay the One Hundred Thoufand promised to Cæsar in case of that Restitution. He did not consent that the State of Milan should be obliged to take Salt from the Church, nor that in Matters concerning the Collation of Benefices in the Kingdom of Naples, Reference should be made to the Tenor of the Investitures, but to the Cession of preceding Kings, who in many Cases had despised the Rights and Authority of the Apostolic Sec. And because it had been agreed with the Legate that, in order to remove from Lombardy the Army, that was become burdenfome to all Italy, there should be disbursed by the Pope, by himself, as King of Naples, and by the other Powers, One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, in which Case it would be conducted to Naples, or to some Country out of Italy, where

where it pleased Casar, who, it was A. D. faid, had a Defign to make it pass overto Barbary, it was proposed that, the Arrears of the Army being increased fince that Time, the faid Sum should be augmented to Two Hundred Thoufand Ducats. The Duke of Seffa, and Errera, presented a Copy of these Articles to the Pontiff, with a Protestation that it was not in their Power to alter so much as one Syllable of it: All the Difficulties however would have been easily removed, had the Dutchy of Milan been disposed of in such a manner as to give no Cause of Jealousy to the Pontiff, and to the other Powers. But it was confidered that the Duke of Bourbon was fo implacable an Enemy to the King of France, that, either for his own Security, or from a Defire of invading France, he had always been very submiffive to Cafar, nor could it be expected that he would ever be uneasy at his exorbitant Greatness; and that the Article of removing the Army from Lombardy, which was fo much defired by all, and for which Purpose they would

A. D. would not have grudged any Sum of Money, was of no Signification, fince at Milan remained a Duke who would not only at every. Beck from Cæsar admit his Troops, but perhaps defire and sollicit their Presence for his own Interest.

WHEREFORE the Pontiff, who, because, in the Agreement made by Cæsar with the King of France, there had been no material Mention made of him. and none at all of the Security of the States of Italy, had confirmed himself in the Persuasion he had before entertained that the Greatness of Casar must prove his Slavery, refolved not to accept the Agreement in the Manner in which it was proposed to him, but to preserve himself free till he should be certified of the Measures taken by the King of France with respect to the Observance of his Appointment. And he was the more encouraged because, besides the Probabilities of the Case, he had been informed of some Words spoken by the King before he was fet at Liberty, and by

Pope rejects them,

by others who were privy to his Coun- A. D. fels, by which it appeared he had no 1526. Mind to fulfil his Engagements with Cæfar. To confirm the King in this Resolution, as a Point on which his own Security depended, he dispatched away post to France Pagolo Vettori, a Florentine, Commander of his Gallies, that he might be at Court at the same Time as the King should arrive, making this Speed not only to know as foon as possible his Mind, but also that the King, by receiving Hopes of an immediate Alliance with the Pontiff and Venetians against Cæsar, might the more readily determine himself. Pagolo therefore was commissioned, in the Name of the Pope, to congratulate his Majesty on his Deliverance, and to inform him of the Means used by the Pope for bringing about this happy Event, and how greatly the Treaty that he had held for confederating with his Mother had inclined Cafar to fet him at Liberty: That after this he should represent to the King that the Pope was very defirous of an universal Peace among Chri-VOL. VIII. Dd stians.

stians, and that Cæsar and his Most Christian Majesty should jointly undertake an Expedition against the Turks, who were intent on making mighty Preparations for invading the Kingdom of Hungary this very Year. These were the apparent Subjects of his Commission, but the substantial and secret Point wasfirst to attempt, with all his Dexterity, to know the Inclination of the Most Christian King, and, if he should find him disposed to observe the Agreement, to proceed no farther, lest he should, to no Purpose, bring him more out of Favour with Cæsar than ever: But if he should perceive him otherwise inclined, or ambiguous, he should endeavour to confirm him, and take all Opportunities for encouraging him to take that Course, by Assurances of the Pontiff's Defire to unite with him for the common Good. He also dispatched into England the Protonotary Gambara, to use his Endeavours with that King to the fame End: And, at his Sollicitations, the Venetians sent into France, with the like Commission, Andrea Rosso their Secretary: secretary. And because Pagolo, as soon A. D. as he arrived at Florence, sell sick and died, the Pontiss, tho' he took it for an ill Omen that the Ministers, whom he had now twice sent to France on this Negotiation, had perished on the Road, dispatched away in his Place Capino da Montoua. In the mean time his Holiness and the Venetians were not wanting to employ all possible Means for encouraging and keeping alive the Hopes of the Duke of Milan, lest his Fears and the Peace of Madrid, should drive him to precipitate himself into some Accommodation with Casar.

By this time the King of France Ceremowas arrived at Fonterabia, a Town of ferved on Cæsar's, situate on the Ocean, upon the setting the Borders between Biscay and the Dutchy France at of Guyenne; and, on the other Side, the Liberty. Mother with the two Children were come to Baymne, a sew Leagues distant from Fonterabia, where she staid several Days before the Day appointed for making the Exchange, because she had been seized with the Gout on the Road. On the D d 2 Eigh-

A. D. Eighteenth of March, then, the King, attended by the Viceroy, General Alarcone, and about fifty Horse, was conducted to the Bank of the River that divides the Kingdom of France from that of Spain, and at the same time Lautrech presented himself on the Bank with the Regentess, and an equal Number of Horse, and in the Middle of the River was a large Barge at Anchor with no Person in it. The King approached the Barge in a Skiff, in which, besides himself, was the Viceroy, Alarcone, and Eight others, all armed with short Weapons: On the other Side of the Barge came up Lautrech in another Skiff, or small Boat, with the Hostages, and Eight Men armed in the same Manner; then the Viceroy mounted the Barge with all his Men, and the King with them, and immediately after mounted Lautrech with his Eight Attendants; so that in the Barge was an equal Number on both Sides, the Viceroy having with him Alarcone, and Eight others, and the King attended by Lautrech and his Eight Men. As foon as they were all on board the Barge, Lautrech took the Dauphin out

of the Skiff into the Barge, and put A. D: him into the Hands of the Viceroy, who delivered him to Alarcone, by whom he was immediately put into their Boat; and at the same Instant the little Duke of Orleans was taken into the Barge, and was no fooner in, than the most Christian King leaped out of the Barge into his own Boat with fuch Quickness that this Exchange came to be made in the fame Moment. As foon as the King got out of the Boat, on the Bank, he mounted a Turkish Horse of wonderful Swiftness, provided for that Purpole, and without stopping posted to St. Fean de Luz, a Town of his own, four Leagues distant, from which, after taking some short Refreshment, he spurred on with the same Speed to Bayonne, where he was received with inexpressible Joy by the whole Court. From hence he immediately dispatched, with all Diligence, a Messenger to the King of England, with a Letter written with his own Hand, fignifying to him his Deliverance, and acknowledging, in the most kind and affectionate Manner

THE HISTORY, Gc.

422

A. D. Manner, that he was entirely indebted for his Liberty to his Good Offices, notifying his hearty Defire to enter into a strict Union and Intimacy with him, and his Refolution to proceed in all Occurences by his Advice: And not long after he dispatched other Ambassadors to ratify, in a solemn Manner, the Peace which his Mother had made with him, laying a vast Stress on the Friendship of that King.

The End of the Sixteenth Book, and Eighth Volume.



THE Sixteenth Book properly terminates the History of Guicciardini, for here he finished the Revifal of his Works, and therefore his Nephews, who, after his Death, obliged the World with this excellent Performance, gave us no more than Sixteen Books, which paffed feveral Editions. But finding afterwards, by the Quickness of the Sale, that neither their own Profit, nor the Reputation of their Uncle were like to fuffer by the Addition of the other Four which had not received his last Hand, they ventured to publish the whole Twenty Books, without regarding the Inequality and Incorrectness of the Four Last, which were the Reasons why the Translator, till the Publication of the Second Volume, intended only to give the first Sixteen, and comprehend them in Seven Volumes, as may be feen in his first Proposals. But these Reasons have been fince outweighed by the Confideration of the usual Candour shewn by the Public to the imperfect tho' genuin Remains of a great Genius, and by the Encouragement given him by the unexpected Number of those who have favoured him with their Subscriptions; and therefore he is translating these Four Books, which will be delivered to the Subscribers without any additional Expence.

ecology accommon and a continue the regulation of the state of the state of the , is the public of section of the published as the second of reduced to the fine of the control o Abrahaman A Cultimbrat in The First, drey ventured to repliffs the while Tyenty Books, widoucious this the Insque-Total and Control of the San and the State of the State o City of Librarian of the Second Toloment. esteur ha rheete un Seven Voluntes, on mivel e Real in his bath Proposition. Usin their Mostale's nave been hince ontwentions by the Could be a and the state of t Marile office, mink harmond many one of the Character of the State of State of the State



NAMES OF

SUBSCRIBERS

SINCE THE PUBLICATION

Of the SIXTH VOLUME.

A

LORD Archer.
Sir Willoughby Austin, Bart.
Sir Anth. Abdy, Bart.
William Atwood, M.D.
Mr. Thomas Aris, Bookseller.

B

Hon. J. Smith
Sir Richard
Philip
John
James
Francis
Thomas
Hugh

Barry.
Bampfyeld, Bart.
Bacon, E/q;
Butler, E/q;
Browne, E/q;
Beckford, E/q;
Bladen, E/q;
Barlow, E/q;

NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.

C

Earl of Thomas Francis Ashton Carslile.
Cavenagh, Esq;
Chester, Esq;
Curzon, Esq;

D

Hon. John Sir William Dawney. Daniel, Bart.

F

Stephen Sig. Andrea William Fuller, Esq; Fantafia. Fenwick, Esq;

G

Hon. John Sir John Bernard John Gilbert Robert Grey, E/q; Glynne, Bart. Granville, E/q; Gray, E/q; Geddes, E/q; Goodiere, E/q;

H

Sir Henry

Hunlock, Bart.

Eliab

NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Eliab
Edward
Joseph
Richard
James
Jerard

Harvey, Esq; Hanford, Esq; Hickey, Esq; Hopkins, Esq; Harrington, Esq; Hodges, Esq;

I

Joshne

Ironmonger, E/q;

K

Mr. Thomas Mrs.

Knobbs. Keyt.

L

James

Lloyd, Esq;

M

Duke of
Lady
Lord William
Sir Charles
Hon. William

Manchester.
Molesworth.
Manners.
Mordaunt, Bart.
Murray, Att. Gen.
Daniel

Names of Subscribers.

Daniel Thomas	Macnamara, E/q ; Mathews, E/q ;
	N
Dutchess of Sir Roger	Norfolk. Newdigate, Bart.
	0
Trinity St. John's Morton Queen's Magdalen Brasen-nose All Souls Exeter Lincoln Dr.King, L. L. D. President of Doctor Tothergill, President of Hon. and Rev. Mr. Tracey of Dr. Joseph Smith, L. L. D. of Rev. Mr. Henry Parker, of	College Colleg
Dr.	

Oxford

Dr. Dereham, Prefident of

Dr. Winchester of Magdalen,

Rev.RogerMather of Brasen-nose, Un.Or.

Doctor Blackstone,

L. L. D. of

Rev. Mr. Buckler, of All Souls,

Dr. John Stanford,

S. T. B. of

Lewis Buck, Esq; of Exeter.

P

Duke of Sir John Sir Thomas Mr. Thomas Portland.
Packington, Bart.
Palmer, Bart.
Payne, Bookfeller.

S

Earl of
John
John
Richard
Joseph
Mr. Robert
Mr. John

Stamford,
Symmonds, E/q;
Symmons, E/q;
Sutton, E/q;
Salvin, E/q;
Salvadore, E/q;
Swann.
Shuckburgh, Books.

NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.

T

Marchioness of Earl of Stephen Tweedale.
Tilney.
Tempest, Esq;

V

Sir George Henry Vandeput, Bart. Vernon, Esq;

W

Randle
Horatio
John Hardley
James
John Rolle
John
Mr. Richard

Wilbraham, E/q; Walpole, jun. E/q; Wilmot, E/q; Welsh, E/q; Walters, E/q; White, E/q; Ware.

Y

Hon. Charles

Yorke.



